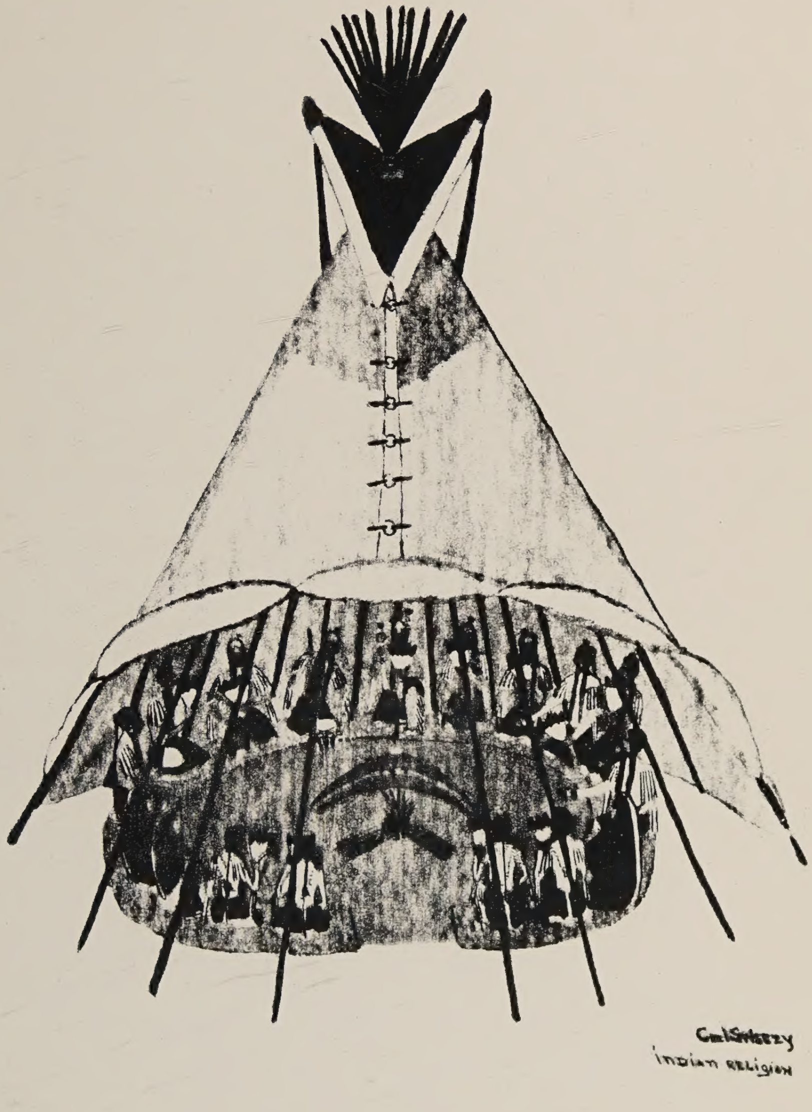
PAPERS in Anthropology



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/papers-in-anthropology-oklahoma_fall-1960_1_2

PAPERS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Volume I Fall 1960 Number 2

Reprinted: 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976 (100 copies)

PAPERS IN ANTHROPOLOGY is abstracted in Abstracts in Anthropology.

Table of contents appear in Current Anthropology.

The University of Oklahoma is an Equal Opportunity Institution.

This publication has been prepared and distributed at no cost to the taxpayers of the State of Oklahoma.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

A HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL SKETCH OF FRANZ BOAS, by Benny J. Wallace 1

A STANDARDIZED CLASSIFICATION FOR MANOS AND MULLERS IN NORTH AMERICA, By Thomas Barr 20

ACCULTURATION IN THE PALEO-ASIATIC TRIBES, by Floyd Sharrock 29

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY: A FALSE DICHOTOMY OR A USEFUL DISTINCTION?, by Samuel F. Sampson 40

A HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL SKETCH OF FRANZ BOAS

by

Benny J. Wallace

Introduction

Right before and during the early part of the 20th century anthropology was in its infancy. This is not to say that this period marked its birth, for anthropology had always delighted the intellectually curious. However, it was often thought of as being only the collection of peculiar or curious facts, facts that were many times unrelated and had no particular, appliable function. Being somewhat analogous to the old cliche, "art for art's sake," only in this instance, knowledge for the sake of knowledge. It was during this period that scholars dropped the idea that anthropology was merely the study of exotic people and their strange customs and beliefs. Anthropology was becoming a full blown science. It was to this science that Franz Boas devoted his life.

Boas was much concerned as to anthropology's place or function as a science. In his own words, "It might be said that anthropology is not a single science, for the anthropologist presupposes a knowledge of individual anatomy, physiology and psychology, and applies this knowledge to groups" (1928:12). Boas had such great faith in his science that he maintained all sciences be studied from an anthropological point of view, this view being, "The group, not the individual is always the primary concern on the anthropologist" (Boas 1928:13). The anatomist, physiologist, and psychologist will usually study the individual according to his size, shape, or intellect, but "The individual interests us only as a member of the group" (Boas 1928:13). In anthropology, "when discussing the reactions of the individual to his fellows we are compelled to concentrate our attentions upon the society in which he lives" (Boas 1928:15).

This is only one of Boas' many views concerning anthropology and its related fields. The following pages are devoted to presenting a modified biography of Franz Boas. The word, modified, is used because it is not presented in a strict chronological order. The bulk of the following material tells the story of one of America's most influential, although sometimes controversial, anthropologists.

The Young Boas

July 9, 1858 marks the birth of a man who was later to become a landmark in the field of American anthropology. A man sensitive enough to love and appreciate the music of Beethoven and Mozart, yet strong, fiery, and independent enough to make a field trip to the frontier of the Pacific Northwest at the age of seventy. This man, Franz Boas, was born the son of a

German-Jewish merchant in the town of Minden, Westphalia, Germany.

Boas grew to manhood in what might be called the height of the Victorian era. It was during this time that the supremacy of the European way of life was taken for granted. Books such as Darwin's Origin of Species, Marx's Critique of Political Economy, and Liltre's Parctes de Philosophie Positive which were to stir the imagination of men for years to come were published the year after his birth. Important anthropological finds, such as the discovery of the Neanderthal remains in 1857, or the work done in Troy during 1879 by Virchov and Schliemann are still prompting men to seek the truth about their ancestors. A person as curious as Boas could not help but take notice of the revolutionary ideas that so greatly affected the intellectual and scientific development of Western thought.

During the latter part of the 19th century the white race and European civilization was taken for granted as being the supreme end, and ultimate height of all men and past civilizations. Europe had a basic political control over the rest of the world, with her colonial possessions being an asset to national economy and power. Negro slavery was abolished in the United States which in turn was to be the cause of its doom where it still persisted. However, slavery was replaced by racism in the United States, and an anti-Semitic feeling began to grow in Europe. This led to many varied theories concerning the superiority or inferiority of the different races. Boas, not being content to sit calmly by and watch the world turn, challenged many of these theories in some of his earlier writings. "It should not be forgotten that in the burning of the books that marked Nazi accession to power, one of the volumes that was physically, though never spiritually, consumed, was his Kulter und Rasse (Herskovits 1953:4). It can never accurately be said that Boas was consciously prejudiced or a racist.

Boas received his primary schooling at the Minden gymnasium, a school in the town in which he was born. Even as a child he showed remarkable, inquisitive interest in the phenomena that surrounded man and his universe. In his curriculum vitae, which he wrote on his graduation from Minden gymnasium, he discusses such varied subjects as botany, geology, mathematics, geography, English, biology, minerology, Greek, and Latin. He was also well read in literature, especially in Schiller and Goethe. As it has been so aptly stated before, "at the age of thirteen Boas was already talking like an anthropologist" (Kluckhohn, Prufer 1959:6).

From 1877 through 1881 young Boas studied in several universities. He was not particularly a good student in his early university years. Having some trouble in adjusting to the formal university way of life, he spent only one semester at Heidelberg. The following few semesters were spent at Kiel. During these years he had a wide range of scholarly pursuits, studying philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, economics, geology, and much geography. It was not until his last two years of his university training that he decided to become a physicist.

As for the personal Boas during these years, he at one time carried twenty-six hours of lecture a week; while at Heidelberg and Bonn he was imprisoned for student pranks. However, he became more serious minded while attending Kiel and received his Doctoral of Philosophy in 1881. His thesis was entitled Contributions to the Understanding of the Color of Water. Immediately after receiving his degree he served his military obligation and in 1882 we find him working in Berlin writing papers on psychophysics. It was during this year that he did research in preparation for a trip to Cumberland Sound, a trip that was originally planned to make maps and observe the climatic effects on the native inhabitants, but turned out to be a trip that started a physicist on the path to being an anthropologist.

The Young Anthropologist

Franz Boas, aboard the schooner Germania, landed at Cumberland Sound early in July, 1883. He anxiously awaited his first view of the inhabitants of the Cumberland Peninsula. This was a relatively unexplored section of land located on the west coast of Baffin Island, a part of Canada's Northwest Territories. Little did he realize that he was to be shocked by the people he saw. In his own words, "The little bandy-legged fellows who ran laughing and chewing over the deck of the vessel, with their long black hair, fat faces and dripping eyes made an extremely repulsive impression" (Hays, quoting Boas, 1958:227). The women were dreadfully ugly, though fairly clean, for they had had a feast of purification before coming to greet the white men (Hays 1958:227).

Boas was not only repelled by the people but by their environment. His first reaction to the house in which he was to live was that of nausea. As he drew the curtain and looked about on the piles of meat, the filthy cooking vessels and the heaps of reindeer skins in the background, he ran out and away as quickly as possible (Hays 1958:229). After living with the people and a few long wet trips in the weather, he began to alter his initial feelings. Before long he found himself sharing the deerskin bedplace of the natives and cooking with them in the same pot (Hays 1958:229).

The following December a crisis arose which called for some resourceful thinking from Boas. Since he was no diplomat he handled it in his own typical independent manner. It seems an epidemic of diphtheria broke out in the settlement of Kikkerton, the place where Boas then resided. The local shaman accused Boas of bringing the epidemic with him. Furthermore, he instructed the local people to more or less isolate Boas, in that they were to have nothing to do with him. Since Boas had control of most of the white man's products, he simply told them that they would receive no more materialistic favors unless they changed their opinion of him. In no time at all, the medicine man was the only accusor.

By the following summer Boas had sufficiently learned their language and was living with the natives of Davis Strait. His main interest was in learning their customes, music and pottery and he was by then fully acclimated and remarkably happy (Hays 1958:233). However, he was disgruntled about the fact that he soon must leave. Although he had financed the trip by writing articles for Frankfurter Zeitung, Popular Science Monthly, and American Anthropologist, his money was running low. He had the following to say about his trip after returning to Germany by way of the United States in 1884:

> After long and intimate intercourse with the Eskimo, it was with a feeling of sorrow and regret that I parted from my Arctic friends. I

> had seen that they enjoyed life, as we do, that nature is also beautiful to them; that feelings of friendship also root in the Eskimo heart; that, although the character of their life is so rude as compared to civilized life, the Eskimo is a man as we are; his feelings, his virtues and his short comings are based on human nature like ours" (Hays, quoting Boas, 1958:234).

One should take notice of this statement, "based on human nature like ours," for it is an insight into some of his later theoretical ideas.

After returning to Germany in 1885, Boas had no difficulty in obtaining employment. However, by this time he had no desire to work as a physicist or a geographer; his interest was in anthropology. It might be said that Boas considered himself an anthropologist by this time. His field training in the Northwest had successfully indoctrinated him to the methods of ethnological study. Consequently he received an apprenticeship under Adolf Bastian learning to organize ethnological exhibits in the Royal Ethnographic Museum located in Berlin. That winter he became extremely excited after learning that a group of Bella Coola Indians were to be exhibited at the museum. His visit with the Bella Coolas on exhibition inspired him to venture on a second field trip. He quit his job and hastily journeyed to the Bella Coolas of the Pacific Northwest of North America.

The Anthropologist

On Boas' return from the Northwest Coast in 1887 he stopped off in New York City. This figured to be one of the most important stops he was ever to make. The United States obtained an anthropologist when he accepted a position offered to him by the publication, Science. However, the job was not that of an anthropologist but of a staff writer. During the years 1887 to 1888 he wrote forty-three items, ranging from The Earth's Position as Affecting Railway Trains to a report on The Central Eskimo. The same year the United States obtained Boas, Boas obtained a new country and a wife.

While attending a meeting of the American Association in Cleveland, Ohio, Boas by chance met a man named G. Stanley Hall. Hall, head of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, offered him a teaching position. Having never been pleased with his job as a staff writer, Boas happily accepted the position. He stayed at Clark University from 1889 to 1892. During these years he continued researching the Indians of the Northwest Coast and started working on the problem of human growth and development. At Clark he gained for Alexander F. Chamberlain the first doctorate degree in anthropology granted in an American University.

By the end of 1891 a situation arose that was often to be repeated in the life of Franz Boas. As has been pointed out before, Boas was a very independent individual, and consequently, he was unable to get along with the administrative personnel under whom he served.

> Boas insisted on the importance of complete frankness in judging intellectual capacity and integrity, and evaluated all situations in terms of the obligation to discharge his responsibilities, as he saw them, to the fullest (Herskovits 1953:13).

So, in 1892 he resigned as did Henry H. Donaldsen, a biologist, and A. A. Michelson, a physicist who later received world fame for his discoveries on the speed of light.

Information concerning the life of Franz Boas is very limited from 1892 to 1896. He did work as assistant chief of the department of anthropology at the World Columbian Exposition, and later, as curator of anthropology in an institution that was later to become the Chicago Natural History Museum. All in all, it might be said that these years were rather unfruitful.

The following decade, 1896-1906 was to bring forth some of his most productive work. In 1896 Boas was appointed assistant curator at the American Museum of Natural History and by 1901, promoted to curator.

One of Boas' more important achievements while at the museum was in the overseeing of a project that was to further establish the relationship between the aboriginal North American and the tribes of the Asiatic mainland. This project was known as the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, covering an area from British Columbia to the Siberian Arctic. In an overall sense,

> "It was designed to throw light on some of the basic theoretical and methodological problems of anthropology--the relations between race, language and culture, the mode of diffusion of custom, and the way in which historical relations between nonhistoric people, without written records, can be established." (Herskovits 1953:18)

Further study of the results of the expedition, which were published in 1900 will indicate that Boas was particularly interested in the relationship of the facial paintings to the class stratification. A more comprehensive study of these results will be voiced later in this report. The whole project included three major fields of anthropology: archaeology, ethnology, and linguistics. Because of this research we have a better understanding of the relationship between the Siberian aborigine and the American Indian. Further archaeological discoveries will probably document the fact that the aboriginal migration to America was across the Bering Strait and the Aleutian Islands.

Another of Boas' contributions to anthropology while at the American Museum of Natural History was in the arranging of specimens for public exhibition. The effects of his displays are still being felt in museums throughout the world. Boas did not approve of the evolutionary type of display. This being a process in which tools, clothes, weapons, etc. are placed in a manner in order to show their evolutionary development. Boas proposed showing the artifacts in the manner in which the people under observation actually lived. "This changed the then conventional static systematic type of display into something that had as dynamic and living, a quality as museum specimens can attain, and provide an emotional as well as an intellectual appeal." (Herskovits 1953:21)

Boas was appointed lecturer in physical anthropology in 1896 at Columbia University, and received professorship with permanent tenure in 1899. He quit his job at the American Museum of Natural History in order to devote more time to his teaching and research at the university.

From the students of Franz Boas one will find very little criticism. Although he was a domineering individual, his students held nothing but admiration and respect for him. Melville J. Herskovits, a student who has written a biography of his teacher had the following to say:

> Boas was a formidable teacher. By the undergraduates his powers were felt rather than appreciated. . . . The quality of his graduate teaching was subtle. Lecture were not interrupted with questions; they were for "the siminar," the weekly discussion sessions where, each year, a different topic was treated on the basis of student reports. Here Boas was a hard taskmaster, demanding and obtaining the best from the members of the group. If work in German, Italian or Swedish was relevant, it was the responsibility of the one reporting to find his own means of obtaining the aid he needed to master it. Methods employed in obtaining and handling data, and the determination of the manner in which they were to be cast in final form, were the business of the student, to be worked out independently by him; only results were presented for appraisal (Herskovits 1953:23).

Margaret Mead, a well known anthropologist, held nothing but praise for her former teacher:

> He saw the whole of the study of man--as he had once seen in the life of the Central Eskimo--spread out in a great panorama, stretching back to the infrahuman world and forward as man gained greater control over those aspects of culture which he was as cumulative--technological and scientific development. Secondly, he himself, as a curious and wondering human being (and he never lost that quality of wonder which seems to be one of the essentials of greatness), was enormously preoccupied with what we today would call microcultural problems--problems of culture and development where individual differences and slight historical circumstances are magnified into long term-significant effects. Thirdly, he cast himself in the role of one of the responsible leaders of a giant rescue operation to preserve the vanishing fragments of primitive language and culture. Fourth, he thought of himself as morally responsible for the use made of anthropology, for the provision of research materials relevant to human freedom, and also for keeping the subject itself open-ended (Mead 1959:29-30).

It is no surprise that, "all Boas' students obtained a sense of the variety of the way in which human behavior can manifest itself, and the need clearly to distinguish what is inherent in the human organism from what is learned" (Herskovits 1953:23).

During a period of sixty years, Boas wrote over 10,000 printed pages concerning the cultures of the Northwest Coast Indians alone. Most of these writings were reports of research done on the Tlingit, Haida, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Nootka, Kwakiutl, and Coast Salish Indians. This is not to imply that he only wrote reports, for there are many published pages concerning anthropological theory and method which bear his name.

Why would one man devote so many of his productive years to the study of one culture? This question can best be answered in two ways: First, he was a learned student of culture (including mental aspects), and second, in his own words:

> The information accumulating seem to show that under the present conditions (1880-1892) the Kwakiutl and Nootka offered the most promising fields of research, partly because they exhibited peculiar transitional stages, in which newly acquired customs appeared to have assumed novel significance--a condition favorable to the study of psychological and historical processes which are characteristic of the cultural development of comparatively primitive tribes (Codere 1959:65).

As pointed out earlier, Boas was appointed professor with permanent tenure at Columbia University in 1899. This position was held by him until his retirement in 1937. During these years, besides writing, he was the first editor of The Journal of American Folk-Lore, spent two years in Mexico with the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology, and founded the International Journal of American Linguistics. He also received an honorary doctorate in medicine from the University of Kiel and was given an honorary membership in the Munich Academy of Science. Besides all of this, he was constantly protesting the elevation of Hitler to power. One of his papers, Aryans and Non-Aryans, was printed on thin paper and distributed in Germany by the underground.

After his retirement, he spent most of his time travelling and working on different anthropological problems. However, in his eighties he spoke over the radio, wrote many papers, and accepted official positions in organizations in order to fight Nazism.

On December 21, 1943 at a luncheon in Paris, the subject of conversation was racism. Boas had just expressed himself strongly concerning a need to suppress it, when he fell over dead from a heart attack, ". . . fighting for truth with his last breath." (Hays 1958:264)

Race

Homo sapiens is a very proud and resourceful animal. He has had babies, fought wild animals, and conquered vast areas of unexplored land. Yet for years, the so-called white race has been considered a superior being, at least by the whites themselves. Just how valid is the assumption that the European, or more precisely, the North European represents the highest form of mankind? Franz Boas definitely approached this question with an open mind.

> The habit of identifying an individual with a class, owing to his bodily appearance, language, or manners, has always seemed to me a survival of barbaric, or rather of primitive, habits of mind. . . . There are too few among us who are willing to forget completely that a particular person is a Negro, a Jew, . . . and to judge him as an individual (Boas, quoted in Smith 1959:59).

Boas carried this attitude with him into the field, and although extremely difficult for any man, he tried to be as objective as possible. As Marian

Smith has pointed out, "Boas' field material gives no evidence of moral judgments of his informants or of the customs of their societies" (Smith 1959:59).

Another question that might be raised is that if all races had the same opportunity for development, why then, did the white race develop a civilization that controls the earth? Boas considered this question early in his career and discussed it fully in his book, The Mind of Primitive Man, published in 1911.

> It is not, to say the least, probable that the race which attained the highest stage of civilization was the most gifted one, and that those races which remained at the bottom of the scale were not capable of rising to higher levels? (Boas 1911:5)

In order to more clearly understand Boas' feelings concerning this point, we must regress far into prehistory. We must venture back to a time when the ancestors of the now more highly civilized people were in no way superior to what we now call preliterates.

> During the dawn of history we see civilization cling to certain districts, in which it is taken up, now by one people, now by another. In the numerous conflicts of these times the more civilized people were often vanquished. The conqueror, however, learned the arts of life from the conquered, and carried on the work of civilization. Thus the centres of civilization were shifting to and fro over a limited area, and progress was slow and halting (Boas 1911:6).

Voicing an anti-evolutionary feeling he points out that ". . . none of these civilizations was the product of the genius of a single people" (Boas 1911:6).

Ideas and inventions were carried from one culture to another with all contributing to the development of man's world.

> Proofs without numbers have been forthcoming which show that ideas have been disseminated as long as people have come into contact with one another, and that neither race nor language nor distance limits their diffusion (Boas 1911:7).

Although it is generally accepted that Boas was not a member of the diffusionist school, the preceding statement definitely verified that he did tend toward, and place high value on the idea of diffusion.

> As all have worked together in the development of the ancient civilizations, we must bow to the genius of all, what ever group of mankind they may represent--Hamitic, Semitic, Aryan, or Mongol (Boas 1911:7).

For Boas it was not that one race was superior, it was simply that certain races had advanced more rapidly than others. Boas maintained that this could adequately be explained by the laws of chance.

> When two bodies run through the same course with variable rapidity, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, their relative position will be

> more likely to show accidental differences, the larger the course which they run (Boas 1911:8).

One cannot help but realize after reading statements like the preceding that Boas felt the only difference between preliterates and literates, was simply a difference in time. One must remember, ". . . The difference of a few thousand years is insignificant as compared to the age of the human race" (Boas 1911:9).

As early as 1894 Boas started doing research on the results of the intermixture of races. This was subject of much interest to him, especially during his younger years. He chose to study the American because of the slow blending process that had taken place between distinct races, with the end results being three hybrid races: the Indian-White, the Indian-Negro, and the Negro-White. in 1894 The Half-Blooded Indian was published. This paper illustrates the results of his work on the relationship between the American Indian and the white race. In order to better understand Boas' ideas on race, these results of this paper should be more fully discussed.

It was a popular thought during the late 1800's that a hybrid race showed a decrease in fertility, and consequently, not likely to replace their numbers. With this assumption Boas did not agree.

> The proportionate number of half-bloods who have one, two, three, four, or five children is smaller than the corresponding number of Indian women, while many more half-blood women than full-blood women have had six to thirteen children (Boas 1940:139).

Boas, as pointed out earlier, often employed statistics, and supported the preceding statement with them. Following is a summation of The Half-Blooded Indian which clearly illustrates Boas' competence as a statistician, and shows the usefulness of applying statistics to race. He found that of 577 Indian women over forty years of age as compared to 141 half-blooded women over forty years of age, that a little over 10% of the Indian women had no children and only 4% of the half-bloods had no children. He also found that the most correlated point between the two groups was at six children. Ten per cent of the half-bloods had six children as compared to 9% of the Indian women. However, 14% of the half-bloods had eight children and only 8% of the Indian women had the same. Probably the most striking difference was that 7% of the half-bloods had thirteen children as compared to 2% of the Indians having thirteen children (1941:139). One must not attempt to insert socio-economic influence into this report because the subjects under observation were selected from approximately the same conditions or environment. It is the opinion of this author that the causes of this occurrence should be dealt with on a different level of analysis or with a different method of approach. The prime importance of these facts are in helping to disprove the stagnant idea that pure stock is biologically superior to a mixed race.

The relationship between race and language has long been a controversial subject. Cuvier classified man into three races: the white, yellow and black. Blumenbach had earlier broken mankind into five races: the Caucasian, M ongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. One should have gathered by now that Boas usually had something to say about any subject that concerned anthropology. This was no exception. "It is fairly clear that this classification (speaking of Blumenbach) is based as much on geographical as on anatomical considerations" (Boas 1911:126).

Probably one of the men Boas most violently attacked was Friedrich Müller, who because of his book, Allegemeine Ethographie, (1879) was criticized severely. Boas has said that Müller:

> . . . takes as the basis of his primary divisions the form of hair, while all the minor divisions are based on linguistic considerations. . . . an attempt to correlate the numerous classifications that have been proposed shows clearly a condition of utter confusion and contradiction; so that we are led to the conclusion that type, language, and type of culture, may not be closely and permanently connected (Boas 1911:127).

For Boas there was ample evidence to prove that a change in language and culture could take place without resulting in a change in physical characteristics. One of his prime examples was the North American Negro. The Negro represents a group of people who are largely of African descent. They have changed language and culture, but still retain their original physical characteristics (Boas 1911:127). At this juncture one might feasibly disagree with Boas. Granted a change in culture does not immediately change a person's physical characteristics, certain cultures are yet represented largely by certain physical types, e. g. African and American Indian. As has been pointed out concerning the American Negro, the millions of Negros in the United States have as much, or more, Northwest European ancestry as they have African (Jacobs, Stern 1958:57-59).

Language and Mythology

Throughout most of Boas' long life he collected volumes of texts concerning the language of the Northwest Coast and American Indian Although he dearly loved to accumulate data in large amounts, it cannot be said that he was nothing more than a data collector. He spent much effort and time in obtaining an understanding of, and analyzing these languages. It was through his efforts that the International Journal of American Linguistics was formed in 1917. Probably one of his more sophisticated writings concerning linguistics was in the introduction to the first journal. In order to better understand Boas' views on this subject we must first look at a brief historical review of linguistic work.

In the opinion of Boas, until 1880 most investigators confined themselves to the collecting of vocabularies and brief grammatical notes. For Boas this was not enough: ". . . it has become more and more evident that large masses of text are needed in order to elucidate the structure of language: (Boas 1940:199). He highly praised the labors of Stephen R. Riggs, James Owen Dorsey, Albert S. Gatschet, and Daniel G. Brinton for what he called ". . . a new in the development of linguistic work" (Boas 1940:199). To some he was not so cordial. He had the following to say about Drs. Goddard's and Sapir's collections of texts:

> On the whole, however, the available material gives a one-sided presentation of linguistic data, because we have hardly any records of daily occurrences, everyday conversations, descriptions of industries, customs, and the like. For these reasons the vocabularies yielded by the texts are one-sided and incomplete (Boas 1940:201).

To digress a moment, Boas felt that up to the turn of the century too little attention had been paid to the variety of expressions found in a language and to a careful preservation of diction, with the bulk of emphasis placed on the preservation of fundamental forms. Fortunately, in Boas' own words:

> . . . many of the recorded texts contain, at least to some extent, stereotyped conversation and other formulas, as well as poetical parts, which give a certain insight into stylistic peculiarities, although they can seldom be taken as examples of the spoken language (Boas 1940:200).

However, for Boas the best method of obtaining data was for initial contact between the recorder and recordee. He had very little faith in text written by a native speaker of a previously not recorded language. His main objection was in that they usually had to have some type of modern education, which in turn caused them to fall too much under the influence of the European languages. It was because of this that he always attempted to obtain his linguistic data from the older generation.

As far as linguistic growth is concerned, Boas maintained that, "Modern languages have developed by differentiation"(Boas 1940:202). His main aim of inquiry in this field was in establishing a genealogical series. However, he was not so blind as to attempt to establish a genealogical series for the full historical development of a language. For he later points out that:

> On the other hand, languages may influence one another to such an extent that, beyond a certain point, the genealogical question has no meaning, because it would lead back to several sources and an arbitrary selection of one or another as the single ancestral type (Boas 1940:202).

He further maintained that in seeking a common origin one should look back to the relationship between lexicographic, phonetic, and detailed morphological classifications (Boas 1940:204).

Having looked at Boas' ideas concerning, and methods of attaining, linguistic data, did he put them to appliable use? The Kwakiutl Indians of the Northwest are a sea-faring people to whom the forms of land and water are all important. Their life subsistance comes from these two forms. On one of Boas' trips to the Northwest Coast he obtained large amounts of linguistic data concerning these people. This of course was first hand information, collected by himself, from the older generation of the culture. This is definitely in line with his previously stated method of collecting material. He found these people oriented themselves, not according to the points of the compass, but according to the direction of the coast line.

> Down river and along the coast (in the sense of northward or westward); up river and up the coast (in the sense of southward or eastward); inland, away from the sea or river; and seaward, away from land. . . . according to this terminology the extreme north is also at the mouth of the river (Boas 1934:9).

This illustrates daily occurrences and everyday conversations, which of course is again in line with his method of collecting material. One can find evidence of language describing industries and customs in Primitive Art (1927). As far as preservation of diction, fundamental forms, and an analysis of the language, Boas compiled over fifty different suffixes alone to illustrate the importance of the names of places in the Kwakiutl culture (1934:14). Such things as one suffix equaling rock or stone, one equaling on ground, one for water, one for sea, one for surface, and etc. In short, he discovered that many of their affixes had to do with the geographical layout of the land and sea on which they lived. This not only applied to the Kwakiutl but to several other cultures of the Northwest Coast.

Probably the subject in most close alliance with language that was of prime interest to Boas was mythology or folk-lore. This, Boas maintained, was not only important in understanding the historical connection between different languages, but also in correlating the likeness or unlikeness found in different cultures. When discussing tales of different tribes Boas had the following to say:

> Most of these are stereotyped to such an extent that little individual variation is found. Even in poorly recorded tales, written down in translation only, and obtained with the help of inadequate interpreters, the sameness of stereotyped formulas may sometimes be recognized. Conversations in animal tales and in other types of narrative, prayers and incantations, are probably the most important material of this character (Boas 1940:209).

It was Boas' hope that the journal he was now heading (International Journal of American Linguistics, 1917) would be a fruitful contribution to the solving of various linguistic problems.

Boas did not wait until 1917 to show a deep concern over the handling of folk-lore. As early as 1888 he was instrumental in forming the American Folk-Lore Society. The journal was to be ". . . of a scientific character, designed" first, ". . . for the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of folk-lore in America," and second, ". . . for the study of the general subject, and publication of the results of special students in this department (Boas 1888:3). This publication was not confined to the United States, but could include myths and tales of all North America.

Let us briefly look at two different ideas or thoughts concerning folk-lore. In Europe, the comparative and the diffusion methods were dominating the scene. Basically, the diffusion technique was being used in Germany and the comparative method in England. When Boas speaks "of a scientific character," he is referring to these two methods. This is not to imply that he advocated the use of the comparative and the diffusion methods when studying all elements of culture. He did not. He did, however, employ them in studying folk-lore. In summarizing the first chapter in the first journal published by the American Folk-Lore Society, T. F. Crane chose to express his views and those of Boas by quoting from Andrew Lang's Perrault's Popular Tales (1888):

> Wherever man, woman, or child can go, there a tale may go and find a new home. Any drifted and wandering canoe, any captured alien wife, any stolen slave passed from hand in commerce or war, may carry a Märchen. These processes of transmission have been going on, practically, ever since man was man. Thus it is even more difficult to limit the possibilities of transmission than the chances of coincidence. But the chances of coincidence, also, are numerous. The ideas and situations of popular tales are all afloat, everywhere, in the imaginations of early and pre-scientific men. Who can tell how often they might casually unite in similar wholes independently combined. (p. 15)

The previous quote mentions tales floating about. Boas attempted to correlate many of these tales into an understandable sequence or system. In short, he tried to apply reason to rhyme. As mentioned earlier, Boas applied the comparative method when studying folk-lore. In attempting to compare folklore, one would immediately realize that a problem arose when confronted with two or more similar tales. Did each tale have an independent origin or did they have a common ancestry with their distribution being due to diffusion? Boas attempted to clarify this question in the following manner.

> Petitot (Traditions indiennes du Canada nord-ouest, p. 311) tells a story of the Dog-Rib Indians of Great Slave Lake. A woman was married to a dog and bore six pups. She was deserted by her tribe, and went out daily procuring food for her family. When she returned she found tracks of children around her lodge, but did not see any one besides her pups. Finally, she discovered from a hiding-place that the dogs threw off their skins as soon as she left them. She surprised them, took away their skins, and the dogs became children--a number of boys and one girl. These became the ancestors of the Dog-Rib Indians (Boas 1940:437).

Naturally, Boas was not satisfied to simply read the tale, so he broke it into elements for analyzation.

> 1. A woman mated with a dog. 2. Bears pups. 3. Deserted by her tribe. 4. Sees tracks of children. 5. Surprises them. 6. Takes their skins. 7. They become a number of boys and one girl. 8. They become the ancestors of a tribe of Indians (Boas 1940:438).

Boas realized that these elements were useless unless they were compared to a like tale of a different culture. He did this and found that the same elements had been combined into a story in the same way on Vancouver Island. This tribe of Indians has also derived its origin from dogs. Boas summarized his analysis of this tale, which is actually a summary of his basic intellectual position on folk-lore by saying:

> The elements may have arisen independently in various places, but the sameness of their combination proves most conclusively that the whole

> combination, that is, the story, has been carried from Arctic America to Vancouver Island, or vice versa. . . . I believe we may safely assume that, whenever a story which consists of the same combination of several elements is found in two regions, we must conclude that its occurrence in both is due to diffusion (Boas 1940:438).

One need not elaborate on Boas' theoretical position concerning folk-lore, for this last statement speaks for itself.

Culture

During the life of Franz Boas and even today, world travelers often tell fantastic stories about distant mystical places. Unknowing writers speak tirelessly about creatures of the lowest human form, people without feelings, laws, morals, or a social structure. If this is the case, "What is the use of studying the life of the primitives?" (Boas 1940:626)

Boas attempted to answer this question as early as 1888 in his paper, The Aims of Ethnology. In this he pointed out:

> The task of ethnology is the study of the total range of phenomena of social life. Language, customs, migration, bodily characteristics, are subjects of our studies. Thus its very first and most immediate object is the study of history of mankind; not that of civilized nations alone, but that of whole mankind, from its earliest traces found in the deposits of the ice age, up to modern times. We must follow the gradual development of the manifestations of culture (Boas 1940:628).

Before developing this idea further, a picture of Boas' theoretical position concerning the universality of culture would be advantageous at this point. Long before Boas, Tylor, Spencer, Frazer, Bastian and many others had illustrated, although in different ways, the uniformity found in unrelated cultures--such things as a deity, home of the gods, an after life where one's soul would be happy or unhappy, the ability of all men to produce fire, boil water, make tools, and etc. This list could be greatly elaborated. Tylor chose to call this uniform action, whereas Boas called it universality of cultureal traits. When speaking of these uniform traits, Boas had the following to say:

> It follows from these observations that we will find analogies of single traits of culture among distinct people, the presumption is, not that there had been a common historical source, but that they have arisen independently; and the theory suggests itself that a common cause accounts for the constant recurrence of these phenomena among the most varied members of mankind, no matter to what race they may belong (Boas 1911:158).

However, Boas would not base his whole theoretical position on the previous quote. This independent origin was a byword of the evolutionist school of which Boas was not a member. For Boas, independent origin was very satisfactory when applying it to basic universal cultural traits as those previously listed. Beyond this, independent origin had no place in his postulates concerning culture. He realized that after establishing these rather simple uniform actions many variables then arose with which to be reckoned.

> The causes of these variations are either external, that is, founded on environment--taking the term environment in its widest sense--or internal, that is founded on psychological conditions. The influence of external and internal factors upon elementary ideas embodies one group of laws governing the growth of culture (Boas 1940:271).

One must note that he said, "elementary ideas. . ." Therefore, Boas felt the anthropologist's endeavors ". . . must be directed to showing how such factors modify elementary ideas (Boas 1940:271). Basically then, Boas' theoretical position on this was in starting with the universality of cultural traits, but then abandoning this idea as soon as the variation reached a point beyond the elementary stage.

Above the universal level Boas maintained that as a preface to the studying of different cultures, the analyzation of mythology or folk-lore would give insignt into more complicated cultural development. This is not to imply that mythology or folk-lore is not complex, but rather that it is less easily defined. As mentioned earlier, Boas approached folk-lore from a comparative point of view, chiefly because of proof that tales are transferred from one culture to another. He illustrated this in the following manner.

> The famous story of the race of the turtle and the hare, or the swinegel and the rabbit may serve as an example. It is found in Morocco where hedgehog and jackal are the contestants. In Cameroon elephant and turtle, among the Hottentot ostrich and turtle are the heroes. The Tupi Indians of Brazil tell the same story about deer and turtle, and it seems plausible that they learned it from African slaves. The tales of the American Negro offer one of the most remarkable examples of transmission, since they represent a mixture of African and European ideas which, in turn, have influenced the folk-tales of the American Indians (Boas 1940:628).

Once the relationship between these tales are explored, the door is open for a more intricate study of culture. In short, Boas believed that one must first observe cultures containing like characteristics, secondly, attempt to link the language or mythology together in search of historical likeness, and thirdly, the comparison of more elaborate social structures. As mentioned before, Boas was not a member of the diffusionist school, but this clearly shows he had diffusionist tendencies.

One should have realized by now that Boas basically reacted against the evolutionist theories concerning the progressive development of society. This also expresses his views with regard to art, a subject in which he was very much interested. According to H. R. Hays, the evolution-minded scientist would like to trace a progression from technically produced geometric forms to crude representations of natural objects to full-blown naturalism (Hays 1958:150). Other people like Hjalmar Stolpe maintained that art had degenerated from naturalistic forms to simple geometric patterns. Boas disagreed with both of these theories.

> Recent investigation has shown that geometrical design in primitive art

> have originated sometimes from naturalistic form which we gradually conventionalized, sometimes from technical motives, that in still other cases they were geometrical by origin or that they were derived from symbols. From all these sources the same forms have developed. . . . the frequent occurrence of these forms proves neither common origin nor that they have always developed according to the same physical laws. On the contrary, the identical results may have been reached on four different lines of development and from infinite number of starting points (Boas 1940:274).

Consequently, he could accept neither the evolutionist or Stolpe's hypothesis.

"Art," Boas decided, "In its simplest form was not necessarily created with some intellectual purpose in mind, but was rather the product of skill and emotions aroused by skill"(Boas as quoted in Hays 1958:153). Illustrating this point can best be accomplished by looking at the results of the Jesup Expedition in 1900. Much of this publication is devoted to the *Facial Painting of the Indians of Northern British Columbia*. Boas illustrates how most primitive people have a tendency to decorate their faces with geometric design; however, the Indians of Northern British Columbia almost exclusively use animal motifs (Boas 1900:14). Furthermore, "the decorations differ according to the rank and wealth of the wearers" (Boas 1900:14). This is an important observation due to the fact that Boas maintained that art was very important in the distinguishing of the rank stratification of a society. To illustrate this point, Boas tells a story of two Haida clans, the Raven clan and the Eagle clan, both of which are exogamous. Each of these clans are subdivided into a number of families, many of which derive their names from the locality at which they are believed to have originated. Each family has a number of crests with several of them being common to all the families of the clan.

> All of the Eagle for instance, have the eagle, and almost all the Raven have the bear and the killer whale. But besides these, each family has a number of special crests, all of which are derived from certain traditions setting forth the adventures of an ancestor of the family (Boas 1900:14).

Boas goes on to say, "The Haida have maternal institutions counting descent in the female line; that is to say, the child belongs to its mother's clan, and inherits its maternal uncle's rank and property." However, the point to get is, "Not all the members of the family use all its crests"(Boas 1900:14). It is at this juncture that the facial paintings are governed by the clan. According to Boas, the following quote illustrates one of the main functions of art.

> In the beginning the youth seems to possess the most general crest of the clan. As he reaches higher social rank by repeated distribution of property among the members of the opposite clan, he becomes entitled to the privilege of using other crests; but the use of the total number belonging to the family seems to be restricted to its chief" (Boas 1900:14).

To show the complexity of art and social stratification Boas discovered over ninty different facial patterns used by the clans of the Haida Indians. This, along with the fact that an artist of the Northwest was free to shape small totemic figures as he pleased was proof enough for Boas, that art in its simpler forms did not necessarily have an intellectual or philosophical meaning. It should be noted, however, that by placing art on a higher level, such as the difference between symbolic and formal art, there would possibly be room for intellectual interpretation. This idea would be accepted by Boas without question.

The theoretical position of Franz Boas concerning different elements of culture cannot be summarized into one word. Tylor could be called an evolutionist; Malinowski could be called a functionalist; Boas could be called neither. At this time it is best to recapitulate Boas' basic position with regard to the three major hypotheses of theoretical anthropology that dominated the scene during his life. These three were: evolution, diffusion and functionalism.

Boas, defining the evolutionary school, had the following to say:

> The evolutionary point of view presupposes that the course of historical changes in the cultural life of mankind follows definite laws which are applicable everywhere, and which bring it about that cultural development is, in its main lines, the same among all races and people (Boas 1940:281).

This is comparable to the ideas of the evolutionist Tylor when he said:

> . . . the uniformity which so largely pervades civilization may be ascribed, in a great measure, to the uniform action of uniform causes; while on the other hand its various grades may be regarded as stages of development or evolution, each the outcome of previous history, and about to do its proper part in shaping the history of the future (Hays, quoting Tylor, 1958:63).

Boas would go along with Tylor and accept the idea that there is a parallelism of development in different parts of the world and that like or similar customs are found in different cultures located on different parts of the globe. However, Boas maintained that using this hypothsis implied:

> . . . that our modern Western European civilization represents the highest cultural development towards which all other more primitive cultural types tend, and that, therefore, retrospectively, we construct an orthogenetic development towards our own modern civilization (Boas 1940:282).

For Boas there was no proof that Western civilization was the best or highest form yet attained. This would employ a value judgment, and who is to judge high from low, or good from bad?

Opposed to the evolutionary school were those people who rejected the general idea of evolutionary cultural development and assumed that like or similar customs found in different parts of the world were due to migration and diffusion. One should be assured by now that Boas was not a member of the diffusionist school. Like evolution, he would accept diffusion to a certain extent.

> The importance of diffusion has been so firmly established by the investigation of American material culture, ceremonies, art, and mythology, as well as by the study of African cultural forms, and by that of the prehistory of Europe, that we cannot deny its existence in the development of any local cultural type (Boas 1940:291).

The key word in the preceding sentence is "local," for he also said:

> The theory demands a high degree of stability of cultural traits such as is apparantly observed in many primitive tribes, and it is furthermore based on supposed coexistence of a number of diverse and mutually independent cultural traits which reappear in the same combinations in distant parts of the world (Boas 1940:282).

Consequently, these two methods were merely a means with which to classify what he called "static phenomena," to interpret these classifications, ". . . without, however, any attempt to prove that this interpretation is justifiable" (Boas 1940:282). It was Boas' opinion that:

> The difference between the two directions of study may perhaps best be summarized by the statement that American scholars are primarily interested in the dynamic phenomena of cultural change, and try to elucidate cultural history by the application of the results of their studies; and that they relegate the solution of ultimate question of the relative importance of parallelism of cultural development in distant areas, as against world-wide diffusion, and stability of cultural traits over long periods to a future time when the actual conditions of cultural change are better known (Boas 1940:283).

Functionalism is the only other major school of anthropological thought yet to consider. Bronislaw Malinowski developed this theory after his field work with the Trobriand Islanders. He became intensely concerned with the manner in which their economic pattern, the "kula ring" or system of trading with other islands, entered into and affected every other activity of their lives. Malinowski's position, in general, was based on a descriptive and analytical study of culture from a psychological point of view. He was especially interested in trying to determine man's basic biological needs and inner drives. Boas accepted Malinowski's basic position, but pointed out that functionalism was ahistorical, and possibly anti-historical. Concerning functionalism he said:

> An attempt to explain the details of the behavior of a people on purely psychological grounds can never give an adequate understanding of the cultural life as it exists today. . . and never replace the necessity of a historical approach to ethnic phenomena (Herskovits 1953:67).

In summary, just as Boas accepted evolution without being an evolutionist, diffusion without being a diffusionist, he accepted functionalism without being a functionalist.

If one were pressed to place Boas in a school, it would be the American historical school. Of this he spoke very highly. When comparing it to evolution or diffusion he said:

". . . we do not hope to be able to solve an intricate historical problem by a formula" (Boas 1940:284). For Boas there had to be proof when comparing two clan systems, mating habits, etc. Furthermore, this had to be in the form of historical proof. This historical proof had to meet three criteria:

> First, proof that one type is older than the other; second, that the younger type develops necessarily from the older one--in other words, that the dynamic conditions for a change in this direction are ever present; and thirdly that these conditions act with increasing intensity from the periphery towards the center (Boas 1940:292).

In summary, Boas' basic theoretical position concerning anthropology and culture can be illustrated by the following quote:

> The method which we try to develop is based on a study of the dynamic change in society that may be observed at the present time. We refrain from the attempt to solve the fundamental problem of general development of civilization until we have been able to unravel the processes that are going on under our eyes (Boas 1940:285).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boas, Franz
1888 Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 1

1900 "The Jesup North Pacific Expedition Publications," Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 15 vols. New York.

1911 The Mind of Primitive Man. New York: Macmillan Co.

1927 Primitive Art Aschrhoug, Oslo.

1928 Anthropology and Modern Life. New York: W. W. Norton, Inc.

1934 Geographical Names of the Kwakiutl Indians, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, New York: Columbia University Press.

Codere, T. F. et al.
1959 "The Anthropology of Franz Boas," American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 61.

Crane, T. F.
1888 Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 1.

Hays, H. P.
1958 From Ape to Angel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Herskovits, H.J.
1953 Franz Boas: The Science of Man. New York: Scribner.

Hoebel, E.A.
1958 Man in the Primitive World. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

Jacobs, M. and J. S. Stern
1958 General Anthropology, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc.

A STANDARDIZED CLASSIFICATION FOR MANOS AND MULLERS IN NORTH AMERICA

by

Thomas Barr

The origin of manos and mullers is a matter of speculation, but the first implements were probably cobbles of a convenient size and shape which were picked up and used for grinding. Such widely used tools as manos and mullers have been rather neglected in archaeological reporting, possibly because they seem to have little chronological significance and do not aid in differentiating culture areas. The few reports which have been published about them have concerned those of the Southwest (Haury, 1950: and Woodbury, 1954). This neglect should not obscure the fact that they have played important roles in the technology of prehistoric peoples and are, therefore, one more clue in reconstructing the life of these peoples.

Manos and mullers are both handstones used with milling stones for grinding corn or other foods into meal. Mullers are more generalized than manos, and are found all over North America. They are generally round to square viewed from the top, and thick in cross-section. They were held with one hand for grinding and used with a rotary motion in a round or oval-shaped milling basin. They were intentionally shaped to fit this type milling stone, and the ends and edges were further rounded and modified through use. Both manos and mullers were reshaped, or sharpened, when they were worn smooth. This was accomplished by pecking the grinding surface to make it rough and therefore more effective in converting the corn into meal.

At times it is difficult to distinguish between mullers and pounding or rubbing stones, for occasionally one or both ends of a muller were used for pounding, too. In general, however, mullers are more symmetrical than pounding stones as they were deliberately shaped for use in a grinding basin, and they exhibit more evidence of grinding than of pounding. Some mullers were used for grinding up paint pigments as evidenced by hematite stains on the working surfaces.

Manos are a more specialized type of handstone than mullers, and are found mainly in the southwestern part of the United States. They are rectangular or long, viewed from the top, and are usually thin or flat in cross-section, but may be round or loaf-shaped. They were held with both hands and used with a back-and-forth motion in the milling stone. These milling stones thus had a long trough-like depression worn into them and are called metates to differentiate them from those with round basins. Many manos are thinner along one long edge than the other, and are thus wedge-shaped when viewed from the end. This shaping results when the mano is held in a tilted position during grinding. Most manos are also convex along their grinding surfaces as the ends get worn away at the sides of the troughed metate. Manos show no evidence of ever being used for pounding at the ends, or of being used to grind paint pigment.

The parts of manos and mullers referred to frequently in this paper are labelled in the diagram below. The grinding surface is that portion of the tool which rubs against the milling stone during the grinding process. Occasionally two or more grinding surfaces adjoin each other on the same side of the mano. Implements with only one side utilized for grinding are called single-faced manos (or mullers), while those with two opposite surfaces used are termed bifaced. Finger grooves occur in both types of handstones. They are short grooves pecked into the sides to facilitate a firm grip during the milling process. It is probable that many long-used manos and mullers once had finger grips which were gradually worn away during grinding.

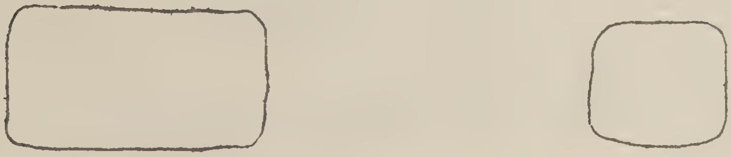
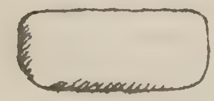


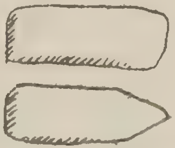
Diagram of the Parts of Manos and Mullers

Convexed Surface Manos.

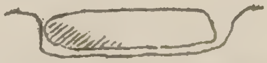
This type mano was used with various types of troughed metates with the result that the mano had convex surfaces from end to end.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

Transverse Cross Section: One subtype is fairly symmetrical--oval or rectangular--with varying degrees of curvature to the edges and upper surface. A second subtype is wedge-shaped as a result of unequal wearing down of the mano. The upper face of most of these manos is shaped by pecking and results in a concave upper face.

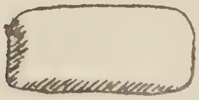
Longitudinal Cross Section: This cross-section is lenticular. The grinding surface is convex from end to end as a result of the mano's being shaped to fit the metate. Also, the ends are curved up through use in the trough of the metate. It is highly probable that the mano fitted a single metate, since slight variations occur in the troughs of metates.

Grinding Surface: Most of these manos have a single grinding surface which is approximately flat from side to side, and convex from end to end.

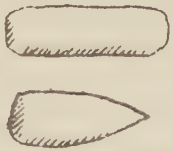
Finger Grips: Finger grips occur on this type of mano, increasing and facilitating the use of the mano.

Manos for Use in Flat Metates.

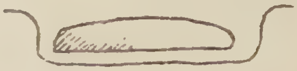
This particular type of mano came into use before the type which was used in a troughed metate. It is sub-rectangular to oval in shape.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

Transverse Cross Section: This section may be oval to sub-rectangular when the grinding surface is parallel to the upper surface, but varies in degree due to how much the upper surface is rounded and also with the amount of pecking that occurs along the edges. A wedge-shaped variation occurs when the upper and lower surfaces are not parallel. The upper surface varies due to the amount of shaping which has been done--the surface may be either regular or irregular.

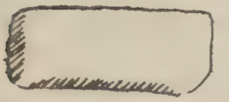
Longitudinal Cross Section: This section is sub-rectangular. The ends of the mano have become slightly rounded in use so that there is a slight convexity in this cross-section.

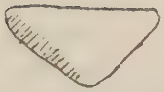
Grinding Surface: The grinding surface is flat from end to end, and flat or slightly convex from side to side. Whether the grinding surface is parallel to the upper face depends primarily on the manner in which the mano was held by the user. The wedge-shaped mano resulted when the mano was raised on the return stroke to drag the partly ground meal up the slope of the metate. The greatest pressure was put on the near edge of the mano directly under the heel of the hand. In some cases this resulted in a mano with two adjoining grinding surfaces (see next category). In this case the single grinding surface became wider through wear until it was the full width of the mano and the edge was reduced to a thin sharp border.

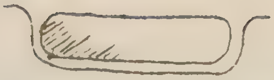
Finger grips: These are present on both of these subtypes but occur most often on the type with parallel faces. Finger grips on the wedge-shaped manos are usually worn almost away by heavy usage.

Manos with Two Adjoining Grinding Surfaces.

These manos have two flat grinding surfaces on the same face at a slight angle to each other. These two surfaces are the result of turning the mano around in the metate so that the wear was distributed along both edges instead of just one. These two surfaces meet at an obtuse angle along the center of the lower face of the mano. The upper face was not used for grinding. These manos are oval to sub-rectangular in shape. The edges are approximately parallel and somewhat rounded. Frequently the shape is somewhat altered by breaks on the thin edge. Occasionally it was left irregular when the implement was shaped.


Top View


Transverse Section


Longitudinal Section

Transverse Cross Section: This section is essentially triangular. The two grinding surfaces meet at an obtuse angle and the opposite face is flat. However in manos which have not had a great deal of use the edges may not be worn down and thus be rounded, rather than angular. The upper surface is usually pecked, but is not worn by usage.

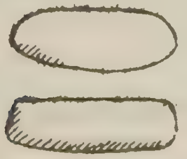
Longitudinal Cross Section: The longitudinal cross-section is almost rectangular and the ends may be either squared or rounded on this type of mano.

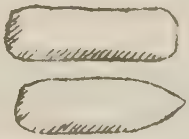
Grinding Surfaces: As stated above these manos have two adjoining grinding surfaces on one face. These result from using the mano in a slightly tilted position and then occasionally turning it around in the metate and using it the same way. The wear is greatest near the edges, and often is greater on one grinding surface than the other. In some instances the two grinding surfaces are not clearly differentiated so that they appear almost like a single convex surface. This was caused by varying the amount of tilt instead of always grinding with the mano at the same angle. In an old well-worn mano the long edges are worn thin and angular, while the edges of a mano without so much use are thicker and rounded. When the mano is thick, it is usually possible to see the pecking marks by which it was shaped. Older, thinner manos may be irregular in shape due to minor breaks and the original surface may be entirely gone.

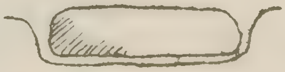
Finger Grips: Since many of the edges are so thin, finger grips, if present at all, have been worn away.

Manos with Two Opposite Grinding Faces.

These manos have been used on both faces for grinding, and are either oval or rectangular in shape. In many cases where the grinding surfaces are not parallel, they are curved along the edge where the grinding surfaces meet. This assymetry is probably due to wear.


Top View


Transverse Section


Longitudinal Section

Transverse Cross Section: When the grinding surfaces are parallel the transverse cross-section is rectangular. But when the grinding surfaces are not parallel, which is more often the case, the cross-section is wedge-shaped. On well-worn manos the surfaces meet to form a sharp edge, but in others without so much wear, the edge is thick.

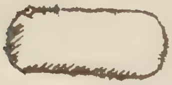
Longitudinal Cross Section: This section is almost rectangular, and the ends are either squared or rounded.

Grinding Surfaces: These manos have a single grinding surface on each face. Whether these surfaces are parallel or not depends on whether the mano was tilted or used flat.

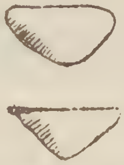
Finger Grips: Finger grips occur on both the parallel-faced and wedge-shaped manos. However the parallel surfaced manos usually have a double grip and the others a single grip. Since the second grip would wear away as the edge of a wedge-shaped mano became thin through usage, it is probable that these also had two grips to begin with. Almost none of the early forms of manos have finger grips.

Manos with Three Grinding Surfaces.

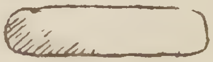
These manos have two flat grinding surfaces on one face, and one grinding surface on the other face. They are approximately rectangular, and the edges are either rounded or square. The original shape of the mano is represented only by edges and ends which are pecked--both of the faces are entirely occupied by grinding surfaces. These manos exhibit varying degrees of individual differences, depending upon how they were used, such as the angle at which they were held for grinding. Very likely an ordinary flat mano was used in a tilted position so that the third grinding surface resulted from being held in this new position.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

Transverse Cross Section: This section looks very much like that of the manos with two adjoining grinding surfaces except that the other face has also been used for grinding. Sometimes one grinding surface is parallel to the single grinding surface, but more often the transverse cross-section is completely symmetrical. The edges are sometimes thick and rounded, but on many specimens the edges are worn thin and the resulting cross-section is perfectly triangular.

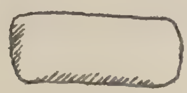
Longitudinal Cross Section: This is almost rectangular and the ends are squared or rounded.

Grinding Surfaces: It is possible that this type mano is actually an ordinary flat mano which had worn too thin to permit its being held conveniently for flat grinding and was thus utilized in a tilted position so that the third grinding surface developed. The sequence in which the grinding surfaces were worn is not known, though it is certain that these manos passed through stages in which they had one and then two grinding surfaces.

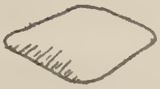
Finger Grips: A small percentage of this type of mano has finger grips. Both one grip and two grips seem to occur in equal numbers. In general, manos with one thick edge and one thin edge have either one grip or none at all. When two finger grips are present the mano is relatively thick on both its edges. Manos with both edges worn thin would no longer exhibit finger grips even though they were present originally.

Manos with Four Grinding Surfaces.

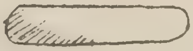
This type mano has a pair of adjoining grinding surfaces on each face. The shape varies from oval to rectangular. The ends are rounded and the edges are approximately straight except when they are chipped or broken.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

Transverse Cross Section: The four grinding surfaces produce a lozenge or diamond shape in cross-section when the mano has been used enough to wear down the original edges. Most specimens do not exhibit this much wear, however, and usually some of the rounded edge remains.

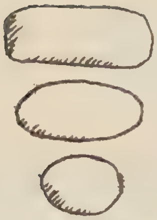
Longitudinal Cross Section: This section is almost rectangular. The thickness is nearly uniform for the entire length of the mano. The grinding surfaces are flat from end to end and the ends are often squared.

Grinding Surfaces: On some of these manos the adjoining grinding surfaces are distinctly separated, meeting at angles of about 140°. On other specimens the adjoining grinding surfaces are poorly differentiated and are nearly on the same plane. Like the manos with three grinding surfaces, these manos represent further use of a tool which previously had fewer grinding surfaces. There is no difference in the milling techniques which produced them.

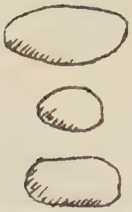
Finger Grips: Finger grips are occasionally present on specimens of this type.

Mullers with Two Opposite Grinding Surfaces.

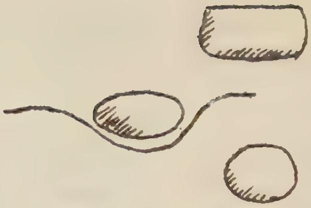
Like all mullers, this type was used in a basin-shaped or flat milling stone. The shape varies somewhat and may be sub-rectangular, oval, or round.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

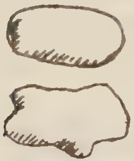
Transverse Cross Section: This section may be oval, round, or sub-rectangular depending on the shape of the muller, the amount of pecking that occurs along the edges, and how much the upper surface is rounded.

Longitudinal Cross Section: This section may be sub-rectangular, oval or round. In mullers which have not had much use the ends are only slightly rounded and the cross section is thus sub-rectangular. In mullers which have had extensive use the ends become progressively worn away against the milling stone so that the cross-section becomes oval and round.

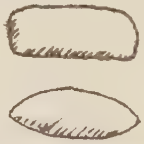
Grinding Surfaces: The grinding surfaces of these mullers are flat from end to end and flat or slightly convex from side to side. They are, for the most part, parallel and have been utilized about equally.

Mullers with a Single Grinding Face.

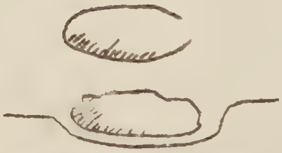
These mullers are oval to irregular in shape, and the face which was not utilized for grinding retains its original shape. These mullers were utilized in the same manner as mullers with two grinding surfaces except that only one face was used in milling.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

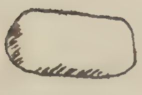
Transverse Cross Section: This varies from sub-rectangular to oval, depending on the shape of the muller.

Longitudinal Cross Section: This section can be either oval or irregular.

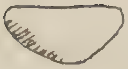
Grinding Surfaces: The grinding surface is flat from end to end and flat or slightly convex from side to side.

Mullers with Three Grinding Surfaces

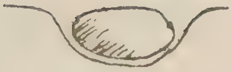
This type of muller has two flat grinding surfaces on one face and one grinding surface on the other. Except for its round shape it resembles the three-surfaced mano mentioned above.



Top View



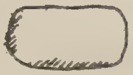
Transverse Section



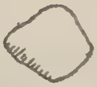
Longitudinal Section

Mullers with Four Grinding Surfaces.

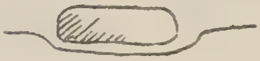
These mullers have a pair of adjoining grinding surfaces on each face. They also resemble the manos with four grinding surfaces.



Top View



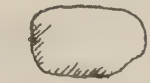
Transverse Section



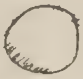
Longitudinal Section

Cylindrical Muller.

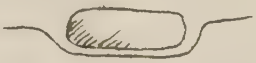
This type of muller is actually a muller with four grinding surfaces in which the edges separating the surfaces became worn away through extensive use, thus giving the muller a cylindrical appearance.



Top View



Transverse Section



Longitudinal Section

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bell, E. H.
1936 *Chapters in Nebraska Archaeology*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-6, University of Nebraska: Lincoln, Nebraska.

Brew, John Otis
1946 *Archaeology of Alkali Ridge, Southeastern Utah*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Brown, C. S.
1926 *The Archaeology of Mississippi*, University of Mississippi.

Cressman, L. S.
1942 *Archaeological Researches in the Northern Great Basin*, Carnegie Institute of Washington: Washington, D. C.

Harrington, M. R.
1939 *The Age of the Borax Lake Finds*, Southwest Museum Papers: Los Angeles.

Haury, E. W.
1950 Ventana Cave, The University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque.

Kidder, A. V.
1932 Artifacts of the Pecos. Papers of the Phillips Academy Southwestern Exped.

Krieger, Alex D.
1946 Culture Complexes and Chronology in Northern Texas, University of Texas Publication No. 4640.

1954 An Introductory Handbook of Texas Archaeology. Texas Archaeological Society.

Morris, Earl H.
1939 Archaeological Studies in the La Plata District, Carnegie Institute of Washington: Washington, D. C.

Ritchie, W. A.
1944 The Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State, Rochester Museum Memoirs: Rochester, New York.

Renaud, E. B.
1931 Archaeology Survey of Eastern Wyoming, Denver University Publications.

1931 Archaeology Survey of Eastern Colorado, Denver University Publications.

Steward, Julian H.
1937 Ancient Caves of the Great Salt Lake Region. Bureau of American Ethnology: Washington, D. C.

Wedel, W. R.
1940 Archaeological Exploration in Western Kansas. Smithsonian Institution Exploration and Field Work, Washington, D. C.

1942 Introduction to Pawnee Archaeology, Smithsonian Bulletin 112: Washington, D. C.

Smith, Carlisle S.
Archaeological Investigations in Ellsworth and Rice Counties Kansas, University of Kansas Publication.

Woodbury, Richard B.
1954 Prehistoric Stone Implements of Northeastern Arizona, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXXIV.

ACCULTURATION IN THE PALEO-ASIATIC TRIBES

by

Floyd W. Sharrock

Introduction

The material contained in this report was derived mainly from two large works, The Soviet Far East, by Erich Thiel, published in 1953, and Russia and Her Colonies, by Walter Kolarz, Published in 1952, and to a lesser degree from other reference works. Other sources were the Arctic Bibliography, whose sources I shall treat as primary and the Human Relations Area Files, also treated as a primary source.

All statistics are approximations, unless otherwise noted. Some data, especially that from Soviet sources, is questionable. Consequently, the information, specific and general, contained herein gives only a broad overall view of the acculturation situation rather than any particulars.

Overall, the acculturation process cannot be said to have been detrimental to the Paleo-Asiatic groups. According to Elman R. Service in A Profile of Primitive Culture:

> It should be noted that the Russians in Siberia do not isolate their primitives on reservations, nor are they given to racial prejudices, but attempt to draw the local natives into national economic life as quickly as possible.

General Area

The population of the Soviet Far North is estimated as between 140,000 and 160,000. This figure includes the peoples of the "inner north," as well as the peoples of the Soviet Arctic borderlands. Size of the individual peoples ranges from a few hundred to several thousand strong. The people in the area were the last in Russia to be Sovietized; national units for them were not established until as late as 1929-30. Although there had been attempts at sovietization before that date, such as the formation of the "Committee for the Assistance and Protection of the Small Peoples of the North and Siberia" in 1923, there was little effective policy until the formation of the National Areas (Okrugi).

In 1929 and 1930 six Okrugs were formed. The first was for the Samoyeds (Nentsy), followed by the Chuckchi and Koryak National Areas. Excluding the Chuckchi and Koryak Okrugs, the other four are:

1. Yamalo-Nenets: covering the Yamal peninsula and the Ob estuary, 177,000 square miles and 12,753 population.

2. Dolgano-Nenets: covering the Taimyr peninsula, 231,000 square miles, and 7,477 population.

3. Khanty and Mansi (Ostyak): 270,000 square miles and 45,524 population.

4. Evenki (Tungus): 212,000 square miles and 7,500 population.[1]

From 1932 to 1938 the scope of the National Areas was greatly reduced by the powers vested in the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route, which was, in turn, limited to the development of the sea route in 1938.

Economy

The first Five Year Plan had little effect on the Far Northern Area, nor was it intended to. However the second Five Year Plan was extended to include completely the region.

In the early 1930's the government adopted an intensive program to take reindeer breeding out of the hands of private enterprise and to bring Russia's 2,500,000 reindeer under state control. The decision was prompted by ideological reasons as well as economic. According to Soviet reasoning, in the economic aspect, the reindeer population could be increased to 30,000,000 with scientific management. The natives, however, misunderstood the intentions of the government. Thinking that the government was attempting blatant confiscation, they accordingly began slaughtering their animals. From 1931 through 1934, the reindeer population fell from 2,500,000 to 1,889,000. The situation has improved since the war, but there are no figures available to show whether the reindeer population has again reached the 2,500,000 mark. To relieve the situation, the Soviets relaxed their policy and allowed private animals to be kept, up to two hundred.

To achieve the transition from an individualistic economy to one of collectivization and state-controlled economy, the Soviets disintegrated the traditional tribal unity by splitting them into "Kulaks" (despicable wealthy property-owners), "Serednyaks" (owners of medium-size reindeer herds), and "Bednyaks" (poor reindeer breeders). Serednyaks and Bednyaks were forced into collective farms or were encouraged to become employed on state farms. The state farms by 1931 owned 120,000 confiscated Kulak reindeer.

The natives reacted negatively to the whole program. According to the Soviets, "Nationalistically-minded people and Kulaks from among the Nentsy, Mansi, Khanty and Evenki carried out sabotage in the reindeer state farms by taking jobs as shepherds or by getting their followers employed in these jobs in order to wreck, from within, the state-controlled sector of Far Northern economy."[2]

The result of the native resistance was a statement from the Central Committee in 1932 ordering local party organizations to discontinue their efforts toward full collectivization. The slogan "liquidation of the Kulaks," was replaced by "limitation of the Kulaks."

The northern areas, especially the Evenki and Nentsy, fought equally as vigorously against the political ends of the Soviets as against the economic ends. Both developed an ideology of their own. The Tungus, at that time, believed that one day they would grow in number and move forward to the steppe and agricultural regions over which they would establish political control. They were convinced of the moral and physical decline of the Chinese, Japanese and Russians. The formation of the National Areas stimulated the nationalistic trend. Some Samoyeds took the "National Area of the Nentsy" at its face value, assuming that it was an area where they were to rule to the exclusion of all others, going so far as to start a propaganda campaign for the expulsion of Russians from their area.

Soviet statistics claim the existence of five hundred schools, including one hundred secondary schools, in the area. Each National Area has its libraries, "Houses of Culture," and"Red Tents." All areas can send their children to technical schools in various Arctic towns and to the Leningrad Institute of the Peoples of the North. The capital cities of the various National Areas have movie theaters. Propaganda is not always communistically inclined. The culture being dispensed is derived both from the Classical Russian period as well as the Soviet period. There are "Russian schools" in the area, as well as native schools. In the latter, instruction is given in the native language for three years, after which it is given in Russian.

Children attending native schools are greatly handicapped by the low standard of the native language. According to I. Ignatov, who is in charge of education of the Khanty-Mansi and the Yamalo-Nenets National Areas, none of the native languages is literary, nor possesses any system of grammar or any proper literature. It is impossible to fill out three years in the native language. Disintegration of the "Native school" system is being quickened also by the lack of native teachers. In 1937 the Evenki had two native teachers in their 19 schools. In 1947 there had been no change. The majority of teachers were Russian because few teachers came to the area from the Teachers' Training College of Igarka. No young Evenkis with sufficient education were available to send to the Leningrad Institute.

Between 1926 and 1935 the proportion of natives in the area dropped from 56 to 35 per cent. It is now probably below 20 per cent.[3]

The Tungus (Evenki).

The Tungus are found throughout the whole of East Siberia. Their total population is about 75,000. The Tungus proper (i. e. excluding Lamuts) number about 60,000 and live in a very large National District on the east of the Yenissei and west of the ASSR of the Yakutes. The other Tungus are divided into very small groups and live in the Far Eastern Territories.[4] The Tungus, along with Russian immigrants, work mainly in the fishing industry. Arctic foxes and reindeer are raised in Tungus collective farms (Kolkoz).

Lisovskii[5] gives an account of three Russian girls working among the Tungus in teaching, nursing, and propaganda. The staff of the Faculty of the Peoples of the North wrote books in the field of education and methodology or translated or edited them into Evenki, Koryak, Eskimo and other native languages. Translations of literature on politics and art were also prepared.

Historically, the relations of the Tungus with the Russian outposts became based on sporadic trade. Most of the goods received helped the

Tungus; however cheap Russian vodka created a serious problem. The Tungus have suffered considerable losses because of alcoholic carelessness. In some cases, fur hunters became deeply indebted through addiction and were forced to live indentured to traders. Before the revolution many groups of Reindeer Tungus were converted to Greek Orthodox Christianity, but apparently the conversion was only nominal.

Fur-bearing animals are diminishing in the area and an increase in opportunities for day labor in mining and lumbering camps is attracting many Tungus.

The Goldes (Nanais).

The Goldes inhabit the region near the confluence of the Amur and the Ussuri, and are also scattered along the Ussuri Valley and throughout the Sikhota-Alin. Formerly, their clothing was made partially of fish-skin. In modern times the national costume has been completely replaced by clothing of Chinese or Russian origin. They are exclusively fishermen, hunters, dog-breeders, and trappers. They number 5,000. In 1931 the Nanai National District was formed for the Goldes. Since that time the town of Komsomolsk has been founded, where many of the natives have gone to work in industry concerned with fishing. Most of them live and work there with the Russians, and their assimilation is almost complete.

The Gilyaks (Nivkhi).

The Gilyaks live along the lower Amur and north and south along the coast. Their total population is about four thousand. They now live in primitive Chinese mud huts. Three National Districts have been founded for the Gilyak, one at the mouth of the Amur and two on Sakhalin.

The Chukches (Luorvetlanes).

The Chuckche are located on the Chuckche peninsula. They are divided into fishermen and nomadic reindeer-herders. Their population is 9,000, and they are closely related to the Koryak and Kamchadals. They were accustomed to American trade and were consequently more difficult than other areas for the Russians to Sovietize. The situation was still unsatisfactory, from the Russian viewpoint, in 1945. At that time the Russians began to pay a good deal of attention to the area, possibly because of its proximity to Alaska. In 1950 there were 76 schools in the area with more than 3,000 students. Propaganda for adults increased proportionally. In 1952 the Chukotka area had three hundred and fifty agitators recruited from the Eskimos, Chuckches and other natives. In 1951-52 nine hundred party and Komsomol members of Chukota, including both natives and Russians, studied the classics of Marxism-Leninism. After World War II a mass migration of Russians into the area began. There have been sustained attempts at abolishing nomadism in the area. In 1947 the first nomadic collective farm engaged in reindeer breeding "settled down." In 1952 the Chuckche were moved into Russian-style houses. Many of the young Chuckches have become radio-operators, mechanics and even pilots. They have newspapers, electricity, store houses and modernized hunting. An alphabet has been introduced. Due to increased sanitation, among other reasons, there has been a decrease in mortality. There was some participation of the Chuckche in World War II.

Koryak (Nymlans).

The Koryaks inhabit the northern half of Kamchatka. Their population is approximately 10,000. They are divided into a coastal and a reindeer-herding group. They live together in villages of primitive wooden huts. Their traditional boats are becoming more and more uncommon. The Reindeer Koryak model their winter house after the Russian model. Their movement has become so confined that they often live the year around in board huts. Stebnitskii[6] (1938) gave an account of the life stories of three native Koryaks of lowly origin who were selected to attend school, become members of the Communist party, extoll the new order, etc. In 1948 there were forty reindeer-breeding collective farms in the Koryak National District. Small quantities of potatoes and vegetables were also grown in some of them. Fishing collectives have been formed by the Koryaks at seventy places along the coast.

The Kamchadals (Itelmes).

The Kamchadals inhabit the southern part of the Kamchatka peninsula. The majority of them are completely assimilated into the Russian culture. Many have forgotten their native language. There was one group (1930), still relatively pure culturally, which numbered about eight hundred. They had, however, given up their traditional homes and adopted wooden houses built in the Russian style. The horse is replacing the dog as a means of transportation.

Most of the Kamchadals are members of the State Fishing Organization. Many have turned to agriculture and cattle-breeding in the State and Collective farms.

Asiatic Eskimoes.

There are approximately seventeen Eskimo villages with a total population of 1,600. Malygin[7] gives an account of beneficial effects of the Soviet rule in promotion of well-being of the population, such as advanced methods of reindeer breeding, hunting, spread of education, development of arts and crafts, dwelling improvement, supply of goods lacking in the north and the introduction in some places of movies and electricity.

Yakuts.

There was no available statistical data on the Yakuts. Gurwich[8] (1950) gave an account of changes wrought under the Soviets, such as the establishment of a reindeer-breeding base in 1934-35, a culture-base, bakery, schools, clubs, hospitals, research stations, the first landing of an airplane in the region, economic organization and progress, experiments in introducing cattle, pigs, horses, advances in elementary and general education, education of illiterates and sanitation work.

Yenessei.

There was no available statistical data on the Yenessei; Vainshtein (1950), from the Arctic Bibliography, gave an account of the establishment of a collective farm in 1934 on the Tunguska River. Most of the Yenesseins living in the Yenissey basin belong to the collective farm which is made up of eighty-two per cent Yenessians, nine per cent Russians and nine per cent Zyryans. The chief occupation is hunting and fishing, done in brigades of people, or individually. There have been attempts to plant vegetables and to keep cows. Some small cabins are erected in the woods as shelters for hunters and are equipped with supplies. Russian clothes have been adopted and stable log cabins have replaced tents. There is a school, hospital and a club with a radio set, movies and newspapers. Shamans and diviners have become extinct, at least overtly. Cultural institutions are accessible to only a few of the people because of the great distances. A population figure given by Findelsen (1951) in the Arctic Bibliography was four hundred as of 1928. Also at that time infant mortality was fifty per cent.

Yukagirs:

Spiridonov, in the Arctic Bibliography, gave the 1927 Yukagir population as 396, and stated that those had probably been absorbed by the Tungus. Gurwich in 1951, however, stated that the Yukagir had become assimilated by the Tungus except for language. The Tungus, in some cases, have adopted the Yukagir language.

No information was available on the Ostyak. The Chuvantzy were treated by Thiel as being part of the Yukagir division, exluded from the 296 population figure.

In general, Russianization of sedentary fishing groups has been much more successful than with with nomadic reindeer-herders.

One acculturative feature, common to the various tribes, is the "Culture center." Activity in the center is described by Nikolas Mikhailov:

> When a hunter or reindeer-breeder arrives at a cultural base, he is provided with food and a bed. He is taken to a museum where natural conditions and economy of his district are demonstrated. He is shown the workshops where, if necessary, his rifle, sledge, and clothing will be repaired. He learns how to breed animals, how to skin them and prepare the fur, how to preserve fish and how to nurse a sick reindeer. A doctor in the clinic examines the hunter and treats him if necessary. The newcomer takes a bath, listens to the wireless, and goes to the cinema.[9]

Shamanism

Because of their great prestige and respect, shamans became a prime enemy of the new Soviet regime. They were charged with numerous crimes and with being dishonest and with consciously deceiving the people.

According to official Soviet evidence they engaged in "mad" resistence to extension of Soviet power in the north. They disseminated "provocative rumours" aimed at inciting their tribesmen against the Soviets.

In spite of the Russians, the shamans preserved their power during the 1920's and 1930's and played an important part in the resistance movement against collectivization. They were given credit for boycotts against newspapers and with sabotaging the schools, among other things.

The fight against shamanism took form as the campaign against religion in the rest of Russia, ranging from anti-religious propaganda to administrative terror, with the Far Northern cells of the Militant Godless being in charge. Pressure was brought to force the shamans to renounce their activities. In some cases they were arrested and put on trial to show the natives that they had no supernatural power.

They were still an important factor in 1936 and were charged by the League of Godless with trying to falsify the Soviet constitution, undermining the elections, etc. During the war shamans still wielded some power. One method of fighting shamanism has been to represent Lenin and Stalin as super-shamans.

Case Study of the Samoyeds[10]

Clan Structure. With the organization of Collective farms, territorial ties, rather than kinship ties, were taken into account, thus weakening the clan structure. Polygamy, bride price and the dowry have been abolished by law. The anti-shamanistic campaign has further undermined the beliefs and religious practices which made for clan cohesion. In many cases, clan leadership, which was apt to be in the hands of the wealthier members of the clan, was suppressed as being "Kulak" and reactionary. Among some groups clan exogamy has been reduced to a prohibition of marriages between close relatives.

The economic function of the clan has been rendered inoperative under the collectivized economy. Further, each collective farm is composed of people from several clans.

The Family. Other acculturative processes are returning war veterans and children educated in Russian-controlled boarding schools.

Restricted living area has brought about Russian-type permanent housing. This in turn has brought about a disruption of the social scheme. For example, the importance of the hearth in a Russian type house is obviously changed from that of the native dwelling.

Many Samoyed taboos are under pressure: catching birds in the first half of winter before the fish supply is exhausted, shooting wolves, or depositing reindeer bones where the animal was killed.

Although overt shamanism is forbidden, it almost certainly is being practiced covertly since the new system cannot possibly be fulfilling all the functions of the shamans, with limited medical facilities, etc.

Division of Labor. The old division of labor whereby men were concerned with primary production and women with housework, skin-tanning, etc., is giving way. The men now do some of the housework while women do some of the fishing and, in some cases, occupy positions of authority such as work-group leadership and in one case at leaste, collective farm presidency. Women have achieved this new status from the introduction of such things as cattle and record-keeping. They now have more time as a result of such factors as ready-made western dress, not having to move the house, the children being in boarding school for a portion of the year. However, when the old type of summer house is built, it is still woman's work, although men participate in the construction of the "Balok" or house on a sledge, which is a new cultural item.

Art. Since Soviet control was established the government has encouraged Samoyed artistic expression as part of its policy fostering "national culture." However, a high degree of selection is being practiced, and those fitting the Soviet doctrine are encouraged while others are discouraged. Traditional tales are reworked and others fabricated to show friendship of the minor nationalities for the Russian people. In addition to this, tales and songs are written specifically in praise of Soviet leaders.

There is a conflict in encouraging national minorities. Consequently, the "higher stage" to which the nationalities are being raised is the culture of sovietized and westernized Russia. That is, western clothes are a mark of cultured living--the adoption of western musical patterns a "cultural advance." The result has been to relegate the aboriginal elements of esthetic expression to formalized and specific occasions.

Education. In the field of education, a program to wipe out illiteracy began in earnest about 1930. Climate, territorial expanse, nomadic population, lack of teachers knowing the Samoyed language, lack of textbooks and buildings were handicaps. At first, boarding schools and "nomadic" schools which followed the herds were established. The Samoyeds resisted. They didn't like being separated from their children, and further they considered literacy to be of no value. In addition to these factors, the Northern alphabet was changed in 1937 from Latin to Russian, necessitating reteaching those who had learned with the Latin alphabet. At the present time illiteracy is practically non-existent, according to Soviet sources.

Primary schools of four years duration, secondary schools of seven years duration, Commerce (secondary), Kolkhoz Administration and Reindeer-breeding, Nursing, Teaching, Cultural-Political and Mining schools are available to the Samoyeds. In addition to these, each collective farm has a library or a "house of culture" where adult education is conducted. There are also "red tents" or huts (mobile libraries) which follow the collective farm herders.

Well over ninety per cent of Samoyed childred are enrolled in schoo although not all of them get schooling above the primary level. Several Collective farms send their children to schools located in a single settlement. This "Boarding school system" has had obvious effects on family structure.

Samoyed children, as well as those from other nationality groups, are excepted from tuition fees in higher education schools. In addition there is a tendency to encourage gifted students of national minorities to continue their studies, especially for teaching positions. Samoyeds receiving higher education are isolated cases. There are few secondary schools in the area in which the Samoyeds comprise only twenty per cent of the population. The available schools are oriented toward serving the Russian factor.

Education for Samoyeds is largely for purposes of filling lower echelons of collective farm administration. Very few have more than six years of formal education.

The Russian language is obligatory for national minorities from the second year in primary school and from the third year in secondary school. Since the majority of Samoyeds have gone to school, they can be presumed to be bilingual.

Political Education. The process of instilling Marxism-Leninism into Samoyeds was largely unsuccessful in the beginning. Politics for the Samoyeds are kept at a very simple level. The "exploitation" and "liberation" aspects are being played up, however, such as the Eskimo and Indian treatment. There is very little data on this subject.

Religion. One of the first policies of the Soviets was the elimination of the Russian Church and an anti-shamanism campaign. With collectivization the anti-shamanism measures became more drastic. Shamans and their families were deprived of suffrage, schooling, were subject to imprisonment and deportation for forced labor and even execution. They were accused of sabotage of various governmental measures such as veterinary medicine. The term "shaman" was often used inter-changeably with "Kulak," although Shamans were rarely wealthy. According to the Soviets, "Shamanism has disappeared."

Public Information. In the three Samoyed National Areas, with a total population of 100,000, only 20,000 are Samoyed. There are Area newspapers and regional papers. Several newspapers are in the Samoyed language. In addition to these there are the national newspapers such as Pravda.

Every Collective farm has at least one radio. Local Kolkhoz affairs are reported through a "Board Bulletin" newspaper. There is a traveling motion picture unit, usually attached to the "red tent."

Work. Although children are in boarding school, they are expected to do the traditional work while they are home, and apparently do so willingly. Few Samoyeds are in the forced labor camps located in their area, since the policy has been to send forced labor personnel to other areas. There are no statistics on the number of Samoyeds who have been deported for forced labor.

Almost every working Samoyed is employed either by the government or a Kilkhoz. Labor organization has been made an integral part of the overall administrative structure of the collective farm, which in turn is closely related to the political structure.

Health and Sanitation.

New items in the Samoyed diet are bread and brick tea, sugar, butter, cereals, some fruit, cattle, and milk. Previously to the revolution the

Samoyed diet staples were fish and meat.

Every village now has some medical facilities, although this may consist of only "first aid." Medical help and supplies are free to the Samoyed. There are also first aid stations for Kolkhoz herders. The three National Areas all have medical personnel. One has one medical person per 270 population, another has one per 100, and the third has one per 1,920, labor camps excluded. The facilities apparently are being used willingly by the Samoyed.

Russian style plank or log houses predominate in the area. Aluminum ware, stoves, tables and chairs are coming into use. There is a shortage of housing. Electricity has been introduced in some settlements. Board walks and recreational facilities are being provided.

The law provides stipends upon loss of ability to work, maternity aid, old age pensions and free treatment of diseases. Mutual aid between relatives is still practiced by the Samoyed. Also support of the aged and the ill is part of the traditional Samoyed value system. Consequently, the government instituted social security supplements the Samoyed pattern of mutual aid.

There seems to be relatively little discontent among the Samoyeds other than that displayed by the normal white Soviet citizen.

Law. Offenses not involving state interests or security are handled by the Nomad courts or lower courts operating in the settlements. These courts are closely connected with the political and Collective Farm administrative organs. Minor offenses seem to be administrative rather than police matters. Local courts may warn, reprimand, fine (small amounts) and sentence to as much as five days labor. Theft, assault, and slander were absent among the Samoyed previous to the Soviets and still are. Traditional Samoyed offenses are handled by the local courts. Others go to the higher courts which are staffed by Russians.

In 1948 approximately 97 per cent of the Samoyed households were collectivized. Collectivization has placed a greater emphasis on fishing. Cattle and some vegetable gardening have been introduced in a minor way.

The Collective Farm economy has resulted in a diversification of economic activities and also increased commercial disposal of reindeer products. There is very little surplus however. The Samoyed economy is still unstable.

Currency is the same as for the rest of the Soviet Union.

NOTES

[1] Walter Kolarz, Russia and Her Colonies (1952)pp. 59-60.

[2] Quoted from Revolyutsiya i Natsionalnosti, Nr. 45, November 1933 by Kolarz, p. 61.

[3] Information in the General Section from Kolarz as of 1952.

[4] Thiel includes the Goldes in this category.

[5] From Arctic Bibliography.

[6] From Arctic Bibliography.

[7] From Arctic Bibliography.

[8] From Arctic Bibliography.

[9] Quoted by Thiel from Land of the Soviets, New York, 1939, pp. 133-34.

[10] From the Human Relations Area File compiled by the Faculty and Staff of the University of Indiana Graduate Program in Uralic and Asian studies, authored by Igor Kopytoff, edited by Ruth C. Heffner. 1955.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gurwich, I. S., The Ethnographic Expedition to the Indigirka River Basin, Arctic Bibliography, 1953.*

Kolarz, Walter, Russia and Her Colonies. New York: Praeger, 1952.

Kopytoff, Igor, Human Relations Area Files, ed. Ruth C. Heffner, University of Indiana, 1955.

Lisovskii, K., In Evenki Land, Arctic Bibliography, 1952.

Malygin, V. M., Remote Shores, Arctic Bibliography, 1950.

Mirov, N. T., Geography of Russia, New York: Wiley and Sons, 1951.

Shabad, Theodore, Geography of the U.S.S.R., A Regional Survey, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Service, Elman R., A Profile of Primitive Culture, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

Spiridonov, N. I., In the Far North, Arctic Bibliography, 1933.

Stebnitskii, S. N., Arctic Bibliography, 1938.

Thiel, Erich, The Soviet Far East, London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1957.

Vainshtein, S. I., Culture and Life of a Ket Kolkhoz Named Stalin, Arctic Bibliography, 1950.

*Arctic Bibliography dates are dates the individual works were published.

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY: A FALSE DICHOTOMY OR A USEFUL DISTINCTION?

by

Samuel F. Sampson

Logically and perhaps ideally, all of contemporary social psychology and a multitude of diverse theoretical perspectives and empirical studies deriving from the several social sciences could be subsumed under the rubric of "culture and personality" study. But, as it has happened, this label increasingly has come to be associated with convergent developments in the fields of "cultural" or "social" anthropology and the psychoanalytic branch of psychology. In the elaboration of this allegedly interdisciplinary, but not easily circumscribed approach, representatives from the disciplines of academic psychology, social psychology, and sociology have been conspicuously absent. Most have chosen to ignore the development entirely, while the few remaining, by and large, have acted in the role of antagonists rather than contributors. In seeking explanations for the strange isolation of this area of inquiry from its sister sciences, one is led to a consideration of a multitude of contributing factors, such as the use of crudely drawn stereotypes, the lack of methodological rigor and specification, the operation of experience, the frequent use of ill-defined and empirically unrelated constructs, etc. Important as these factors may have been in contributing to this breach, an even more central problem devolves from a confusion in the levels of analysis upon which the culture-personality writer operates. This confusion appears to stem from a failure to reasonably delimit his units of analysis satisfactorily and to distinguish between psychological and sociocultural constructs. The following exchange between Ralph Linton, Kimball Young, and Otto Klineberg illustrates this clearly:

> R. Linton: May I speak to that? What bothers me is why you should regard the suicide rate of a group as necessarily indicative of the personality, of a personality norm for the society. Why not regard it rather as a culture pattern? As a Japanese friend of mine, who certainly I would say had a personality of a type that I could easily match among Europeans, once remarked, "Suicide frequently avoids embarassment."
>
> K. Young: But that in itself is personality.
>
> R. Linton: But is that personality or is that culture pattern?
>
> O. Klineberg: Why must we make that distinction?
>
> R. Linton: Is there no distinction between personality and impact of culture pattern? (Hsu, 1954, p. 278)

Quite obviously, at issue here is an ambiguity which runs through much of the work of this school as to an appropriate definition of culture and personality and, if at all, how these constructs should be differentiated. If culture-personality advocates are interested in the relationships obtaining between culture and personality, their self-avowed purpose, and yet are unable or unwilling to differentiate between the two, what can it be said that they have been studying?

In order to understand a few of the dimensions of this long-standing impasse, an abridged review of the important positions with regard to culture and personality is in order.

Culture

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, in an article entitled, "Culture, a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions," were able to identify no less than 160 different definitions of the term "culture" employed by anthropologists and others. Following Keesing (1958), among the most important of these in the literature, at least from the standpoint of citation, are the following:

> That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871).
>
> The sum total of the knowledge, attitudes and habitual behavior patterns shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society (Linton, 1950).
>
> (All the) historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of man (Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945).
>
> The mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values--and the behavior they induce (Kroeber, 1948).
>
> The man-made part of the environment (Herskovits, 1955).

In this connection and in support of the current vogue in anthropology, Bidney has noted:

> The older anthropologists tended to conceive culture in general, as an impersonal, "superorganic" tradition and environment comprising the aggregate of material and ideal achievements of historical human society. They assume, furthermore, more or less explicitly, that culture comprised a distinct conceptual level of reality, a discrete order of purely cultural phenomena which develop according to laws of their own. Culture was said to be a process *sui generis* requiring no reference to other orders of phenomena for an explanation of its origin and stages of development. Hence, a sharp boundary line was drawn between the sphere of culture, on the one hand, and that of organic biology or psychology, on the other (Bidney, 1953, p. 327).

Those of the "superorganic" school in the Durkheimian tradition have been prone to argue for the ontological reality of culture. With the burden of criticisms that this position has incurred over the years, it has fallen into general disfavor. On the other hand, some of the most devastating of these criticisms have been those of Sapir (1934, 1948), who argued as Bidney does today that "in reality" culture is nothing more than the subjective or personal attributes of individuals. Thus, the quandary is reduced to an epistemological argument between subjectivists and realists about the "nature" of ontological reality. It is unfortunate indeed that such an important construct as culture should be rendered impotent because of this meta-scientific polemic.

As a result, most of the anthropologists in the culture-personality school have found themselves mired in the dilemma implicit in this statement of Honigmann:

> The crude notion of personality existing in an either-or state distinct from culture has turned out to be a similar stimulant to the growth of social science. The name of the field--"culture and personality"--betrays the notion of culture as a process or realm distinct from personality. Such an either-or conceptualization has few adherents at the present time. Nevertheless, although inadequate today, the theoretical formulation of some kind of interaction between them led to the accumulation of much useful knowledge. A vigorous interdisciplinary movement developed around that fruitful but illogical notion which today is sometimes rephrased as "personality in culture" (Honigmann, 1954, p. 21).

Although Honigmann had to admit the utility of the differentiation and appears to have realized that the terminological substitution of in for and has done little toward extricating the problem, he remained fettered to the ontological arguments of Sapir.

Far and away the most sophisticated and comprehensive presentation of this prematurely reductionistic tendency in the writings of the culture-personality school has been an article entitled "Cultre and Personality: The Natural History of a False Dichotomy" (Spiro, 1951). After reviewing the early historical developments of organicism, individualism, and societalism and the arguments which have been expressed by cultural realists, idealists, and nominalists, Spiro attempted to resolve the dilemma by arguing that, in fact, culture is personality in macrocosm, and axiomatically, personality is culture in microcosm, any attempt to differentiate between the two is a "false dichotomy" whose origins lay embedded in the dualism characteristic of Western intellectual thought. He argued:

> In a society whose culture is genuine, the culture of the society, which all its members are constantly creating, is an expression of the individual's personality-culture. In other terms, the individual's total enculturation is continuous, integrated, and of one piece. There is little conflict between his early enculturation--or socialization--and his later enculturation. That is, the individual's personality-culture is used by him as a means for satisfying his needs in ways which are both gratifying to him and are in conformity with the demands of his culture.

> But his culture is not imposed on him, as an undesirable burden, as an inhibition of his own personality-culture. On the contrary, culture is the expression of his personality-culture, or more correctly, an expression of all individual personality-cultures. Thus in behaving in accord with his personality-culture, he is creating culture (Spiro, 1951, p. 45).

And:

> Personality and culture, then, are not different or mutually exclusive entities; they are part and parcel of the same process of interaction. Both personality and culture reside in the individual, or, to put it differently, they are the individual as modified by learning. One can no more refuse, therefore, to admit the validity of personality generalizations for an entire society than he can refuse to admit the validity of cultural generalizations. If it is nonsense to speak of national character or modal personality, it is equal nonsense to speak of society's culture; for culture, too, resides in the individual, and there are as many cultures as there are personalities (Spiro, 1951, p. 43).

And finally:

> Personality and culture, one may conclude, are not to be viewed as contradictory or conflicting or even different processes. They are, rather, to be seen as a unified process developed by individuals for the purpose of biological adaptation, social adjustment, and personal integration. The dichotomy that is held to obtain between them is a function of our own highly disorganized cultural heritage (Spiro, 1951, p. 46).

"A function of our own highly disorganized cultural heritage"--no doubt, but the question of utility alluded to by Honigmann and Linton above remains unrecognized, inquiry is closed, and confusion abounds.

In opposition to this general development, Kroeber (1917, 1948a,1949) and White (1946, 1947, 1949) have maintained an essentially polar opposite position. In a collection of several of his controversial articles (1949), White unleashed a vitriolic attack upon those in anthropology who have chosen to define culture in terms of individual psychology. He has written:

> Of late there has been a falling away from the culturological point of view and objectives. Instead of interpretation of culture as such, many American anthropologists in recent years have turned to the overt reactions of human organisms and to the deep sub-conscious forces that underlie these reactions. Thus, many men and women anthropologists, who are by training and tradition best qualified to study culture, have abandoned it for adventures in psychology or psychiatry for which they have had little or no technical training and with but little equipment save a ready intuition. They have sold their culturological birthright for a mess of psychiatric pottage.
>
> And who is to study culture if not the anthropologists, particularly the culturologists? We have witnessed a definite regression in anthropology in America in recent years. But it will not last. Sooner or later

> the advance in science begun with Tylor will be resumed. As Kroeber has indicated in a recent article, fashions and fads come and go in science, but underneath the currents and eddies in the surface is the deep strong flow of scientific progress. "Personality," says Kroeber, "is the slogan of the moment . . . Devices like 'inkblot tests' have some of the outward qualities of a gadget . . . (and) as a nation we love gadgets . . . In a decade or two Rorschachs may have been displaced as stimuli of fashion response by their successor of the day" (White, 1949, pp. xix-xx).

To counter this trend, White unfortunately employed the language of traditional organicism in an argument which essentially postulated among other things the reality of culture sui generis and a rejection of interdisciplinary efforts. Although White's overstatement is in many respects as objectionable as Spiro's, his point, when stripped of fetish, was well taken.

A growing number of social scientists and philosophers of science are coming to recognize the utility, if not necessity, of treating sociocultural phenomena on their own level of analysis. Such an argument makes no pretense to addressing the epistemological issues raised by so many for so long. If logically and unambiguously followed, the process of "reducing" sociocultural concepts to psychological units of analysis is an involved one of some complexity, as Nagel and others have indicated. In this spirit, the interdisciplinary problems arising out of such a process have been clearly recognized by Sherif (1959). In viewing these same developments in anthropology and the other social sciences, he has employed a level-of-analysis approach in an attempt to defend a study of social organization and culture apart from the psychological level of analysis, thusly:

> . . . the attempt to boil down patterned cultural products and patterns of social organization to items of individual behavior, which is called "reductionism," is still strong in psychology and in the larger trend subsumed under the label "behavioral sciences." Yet, the legitimacy of the subject matters of the various social disciplines needs no defense. To deny their legitimacy leads to the untenable solipsism that everything is psychology, including physics and chemistry. From the point of view of social psychology, the reduction of social stimulus agents to individual terms amounts to omitting crucial factors which enter into the shaping of the individual's mentality, his perspectives, and his behavior. . . .

It is obvious in this discussion that the social sciences and social psychology are approaching related problems, or even the same problems, at two different levels of analysis, each employing appropriate units of analysis. Various problems of social systems and sociocultural products are studied by anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists. Their units of analysis need not be the behavior of the individual; more appropriately they may pertain to the patterned aspects of man's interaction, his social organization, his productive and distributive relationships, his technological products and relations, his music and art forms, his language systems, his kinship systems, his values, and so on. The social psychologist, on the other hand, is studying the smallest unit of

> a functioning social system--the human individual. In order to study his experience and behavior, the social psychologist must learn about the conditions in which he functions. Here he has to turn to those social scientists who are studying man's social environment in a meaningful way on its own level (Sherif, 1959, pp. 110-111).

It is apparent from the above that the term "culture" has come to mean many different things to the several anthropologists of the culture-personality school. On the whole, they have tended to treat culture from a psychological perspective, and in so doing have failed to differentiate it meaningfully from personality. This problem may also be approached from the other side of the fence, when one explores the ambiguities in the use of the term "personality."

Personality

Allport in 1937 was able to distinguish fifty different definitions of personality in the literatures of the several disciplines. Even at that early date, it is clear from a brief review of the literature that he failed to report numerous others. If one chooses to define personality as Allport has, as "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustment to his environment," it may be said in truth that no anthropologist of the culture-personality school has unambiguously focused upon a study of personality.

In the culture-personality school itself, consensual agreement upon an appropriate definition of personality has not been forthcoming. Linton (1945) chose to view personality as essentially psychological:

> For the purpose of the present discussion, personality will be taken to mean: "The organized aggregate of psychological processes and states pertaining to the individual." This definition includes the common element in most of the definitions now current. At the same time it excludes many orders of phenomena which have been included in one or another of these definitions. Thus, it rules out the overt behavior resulting from the operation of these processes and states, although it is only from such behavior that their nature and even existence can be deduced. It also excludes from consideration the effects of this behavior upon the individual's environment, even that part of it which consists of other individuals. Lastly, it excludes from the personality concept the physical structure of the individual and his physiological processes. This final limitation will appear too drastic to many students of personality, but it has a pragmatic, if not a logical, justification. We know so little about the physiological accompaniments of psychological phenomena that attempts to deal with the latter in physiological terms still lead to more confusion than clarification (Linton, 1945, p. 84).

A close approximation of Linton's definition is that given by Gillin:

> We shall regard a personality, for present purposes, as an internal organization of emotions, attitudes, idea patterns, and tendencies to

> overt action. This internal organization is empirically manifested in a continuity which may be called the "style of life" (Gillin, 1948, p. 573).

But, although agreeing on the internal organization factor in psychological states and "tendencies to action," Gillin departs from this format in the attempt to differentiate between the "individual" and the "person":

> The difference between an individual and a person is that the latter is an individual who has been socialized, who has absorbed and organized internally to some extent the tenets of his culture so that he is recognized by other individuals as a personal integration, the cultural components of which, at least, are commonly understood in the group (Gillin, 1948, p. 577).

As Bidney has correctly observed, "this statement implies that a person is essentially a cultural product and hence may not be conceived in purely psychological terms, as may an individual." Confused yet?

Kluckhohn and Mowrer also have advanced what may be characterized as a psychological definition of personality, but in doing so they emphasize a "behavioristic" approach and define personality in terms of "social stimulus value." In their joint paper, "Culture and Personality: A Conceptual Scheme," they argue:

> We follow May in assuming that the parameters of a personality may be defined by a human organism's effect upon others. All attempts to describe an individual "as he really is" must be regarded as extrascientific unless they are firmly based upon the regularities in the stimulus value which this individual has for others. The only way an observer can "know" other personalities is by noting and making inferences of their social stimulus value--whether in casual social relationships, in controlled interviews, or as manifested in more refined experimental situations such as those provided by the various projective techniques. A subject's own statement of his needs, motives, etc., will normally constitute an important part of the data but can never be taken at their face value without critical evaluation--they must always be interpreted in terms of the reactions of one or more observers. The definition of personality as social stimulus value seems to us one which will permit relatively objective operations (Kluckhohn and Mowrer, 1944, pp. 1-29).

Most of the definitions of personality attempt to focus upon the individual, while some have accentuated sociocultural dimensions. This is illustrated in the following popular definitions:

> The actions, thoughts, and feelings characteristic of an individual (Honigmann, 1954).

> The dynamic organization of needs and emotions which members of a particular cultural group share in common, and which fit such persons to respond adaptively to the major social values of the group (Beaglehole, 1944).

> The continuity of functional forces and forms manifested through sequences of organized regnant (i.e., ruling) processes in the brain from birth to death (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1948).

However, all of these attempts to define personality are rendered more or less epiphenomenal when one is concerned with that which anthropologists have defined as their major contributions. Rather than a concern for psychological processes or with personality psychologically formulated, these writers have overwhelmingly focused upon "normal" or "modal" descriptions and analyses of dominant behavior patterns which are far more closely related to Cattell's early trait psychological orientation than to any of their own definitions of personality or those held in most esteem by a majority of academic psychologists. As Keesing has stated:

> The cultural anthropologist, in studying the individual, tends to stress those particular shaping influences which come from participation in a certain cultural and social tradition. His constructs deal particularly with types of personality, or of character, which are "normal" and "modal" to an ethnic group or distinctive society. But he also recognizes that each individual has a unique organization of constitutional factors and of cultural and social experience which, as we say, gives him "individuality." No two individuals, even identical twins, are exactly alike. The varying individuals who serve as informants for the field worker, and who are the "actors" in all observed behavior, are the necessary starting point for all generalization about culture and society. The modern cultural anthropologist is fully aware that he must have as much knowledge as possible of the range of individual behavior around the sociocultural modes and norms which he may construct. Some anthropologists are even specializing on study of the deviant, or "abnormal" person in our own and other cultures. Furthermore, it is fully recognized that the individual is no mere "culture carrier" or passive recipient of cultural "rubber-stamping" by his society. He has an active and creative role in building up his particular cultural and social experience through selective perceptions and choices, and he may add innovations to the culture as a whole which continue beyond his lifetime as part of the stable tradition. . . .
>
> The dimensions of "components" of personality have been presented in many different ways by anthropological and other theorists. At this stage of thought, we may note that the English language recognizes the uniqueness of each individual in speaking of him or her as a person. A person has constitutional, cultural, and social characteristics which are in some respects unique, or as behavioral scientists usually say, idiosyncratic ("peculiar mixture"). No two individuals perceive the world in exactly the same way. A distinctive hereditary tendency, an illness, a place of birth, a chance contact with an outstanding person, are examples of specific factors which go to the building of distinctive personality. The individual also tends to take on personality characteristics from his family setting and training, as from parents and other intimates, and in terms of his sex, as male or female, his progress up the age ladder from child to old person, perhaps his membership in a class or caste, an occupational group, a religious denomination and other

> sociocultural groupings. Because all of these dimensions involve for the individual a series of statuses within his society, anthropologists often sum them up under a general concept of status personality (Keesing, 1958, pp. 32-33).

He then went on to show the focus of anthropologists upon basic personality structure or modal personality and character structure.

In much the same way, Honigmann, whose definition was quoted above, at once has shown a preoccupation with modal traits rather than dynamic processes individually operative, and the confusion in differentiating between culture and personality in the following:

> By this time the reader probably recognizes the extent to which personality patterns also constitute part of the socially standarized behavior patterns of an enduring group. The personality concept overlaps the culture concept. In part at least personality means culture reflected in individual behavior (Murphy, 1949). If Samoan culture includes a standarized indifference to young children, then the Samoan parent who tolerates with indifference the presence of young offspring is executing a culture pattern that, because we speak of an individual, may better be thought of as a pattern of personality. As a matter of fact, it is from concrete regularities of individual behavior that the anthropologist derives the culture patterns of the community which he studies (Honigmann, 1954, p. 28).

From this, he then proceeded to attempt to differentiate between the different "ranges of phenomena" designated by the term personality:

> (1) Unlearned elements.
>
> (2) Learned elements ranging from unique to universally shared:
>
> (a) Unique learned elements are learned by the person by virtue of personal experience in a social group.
>
> (b) Shared learned elements are those acquired in some degree by a proportion of the members of a social group.

"Learning" is easily seen as the most central term in these distinctions, but few culture-personality writers, Honigmann included, appear to have anything save a superficial acquaintance with the extensive learning theories and the work of academic psychologists in this area. This great deficiency is characteristic of much of the work in this field, which lays claim to psychological relevance. Thus, the efficacy of these distinctions, as those more sophisticated determinants (constitutional, group membership, role and situational) advanced by Kluckhohn and Murray (1956), which they closely parallel, remains to be shown.

Notwithstanding, Honigmann largely ignores these differentiations in passing to a consideration of modal personality. He has argued:

> Shared and learned patterns of activity, thought, and feeling are the focus of interest in culture and personality. Various names have been coined for those elements of personality that are relatively frequent in a social group but here the term "modal personality" will be adopted despite its misleading suggestion of statistical accuracy.
>
> Modal personality, we shall see, is largely socially derived. It presents a product of the interplay of the human biological heritage--man's organic capacities--and the experiences of individuals in groups that direct and shape the expression of those organic capacities. The shared elements of personality range from activities like eating, smoking, and games to highly generalized views of life. As Linton points out, different modes of behavior have long been recognized qualitatively by travelers abroad. However, the average man tends to exaggerate the differences that he sees between, say, nations. He tends to impute greater or lesser worth to particular modes of behavior. As a scientific discipline culture and personality is dedicated to seeing the facts without distortion and with impartial objectivity (Honigmann, 1954, p. 30).

Modal personality for Honigmann approximates or is synonymous with "communal personality," "societal personality," and "basic personality." He argued that:

> The latter term was coined by Kardiner (1939, p. 132), for whom it denotes techniques of thinking, the security system (i.e., style of life through which persons insure protection, esteem, support, approval), the feelings that motivate conformity (i.e., shame or guilt), and attitudes toward supernatural beings. Linton (1945, pp. 128-129) does not follow this usage when he employs "basic personality" to include socially shared elements "of any degree of specificity, ranging from simple overt responses of the sort involved in 'table manners' to highly generalized attitudes" that "may underlie" a wide range of more specific responses in the individual." Our concept of modal personality is nearly identical with Linton's phrasing of basic personality (Honigmann, 1954, p. 30).

If the reader is not yet disturbed by the terminological difficulties encountered by culture-personality writers which have arisen as an adjunct to the failure to distinguish between personality and culture, he no doubt would be if space allowed consideration of the seemingly endless list of personality constructs which have proliferated in the literature and compounded the problem beyond reason. A partial list of these would include "modal personality," "nodal personality," "basic personality," "status personality," "societal personality," "communal personality," "areal personality," "tribal personality," "overt personality," "covert personality," the "individual," the "person," "character," and "national character." Even when one focuses his attention upon the "national character" construct, there is apparently little consensus among its users as to its definition. Since this topic is dealt with extensively elsewhere, it is unnecessary to elaborate upon this point further than directing the reader's attention to the Inkeles and Levinson (1954) article (see especially pp. 979-983). For other comments, an excellent reference is Margaret Mead's article entitled "National Character" (1953), in which she has attempted to defend the construct against its many detractors.

Summary

In a thorough review of the literature, one cannot escape the fact that the writers of the culture-personality orientation have been criticized, on the one hand by psychoanalysts and psychologists for their "psychological naivete," and on the other by sociologists and anthropologists for sociocultural reductionism. Social psychologists, presumably operating on the same level of analysis, or at least concerned with mutual interdisciplinary problems, have in the main been equally critical. This vulnerability to criticism from almost any integrated theoretical position, whether it be in psychology, sociology, orthodox psychoanalysis, or what have you, I maintain, may be ascribed principally to the fact that the vast majority of them have attempted to operate in a no-man's land between anthropology, largely stripped of theory, and a defunct Freudian system of analysis, which has led unfortunately to a premature reductionistic position. Thus, a majority of their problems revolving about the definitional ambiguities treated above have arisen as a direct or indirect result of the limited nature of the "interdisciplinary" focus of those so concerned. As Lindesmith and Strauss have pointed out clearly:

> The interdisciplinary nature of this approach is often stressed but it is, in actual fact, sharply limited. For example, the theory and research of most psychologists, social psychologists, and sociologists who are concerned with personality and psychological processes, are virtually unaffected by the culture-personality writings. Conversely, in the latter there is rarely any reference to the research of social psychologists or psychologists other than clinicians and psychiatrists of Freudian persuasion, and almost no references to the writings of foreign psychologists (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1950, p. 587).

If the culture-personality school is to contribute productively to the body of knowledge in psychology, sociology, social psychology and anthropology, it is incumbent upon those so concerned to comprehend minimumly the relevant aspects of theory and data accumulated by scholars and researchers in these disciplines. Although recent trends appear to reveal an incipient trend in this direction, it has been all too slow in emerging and has quite some distance to go. Until such time as this objective is more closely approximated the bulk of the culture-personality writers will continue to be more accurately characterized as undisciplined rather than "interdisciplinary."

Further, as a prerequisite to this end, the untimely rejection of the heuristic distinction between psychological constructs such as "personality" and sociocultural constructs like "culture" appears to warrant serious revaluation in the light of past misfortunes and contemporary developments. This may be accomplished without invoking ontology by merely delimiting the appropriate levels of analysis. When an argument revolves about the "reality" of phenomena in the meta-empirical sense, let it transpire in the philosophical journals. The course of inquiry has established the utility of this differentiation, and this is the scientists' appropriate concern at this juncture.

Attacking the label of "false dichotomy" to such an effort is rhetorically impressive, but why end there? In the "last analysis," whatever that might be, is not everything matter and energy? Oops! Excuse me, that too is held to be a false dichotomy, isn't it? For the sake of inquiry, so what?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, G. W.
1937 *Personality*. New York: Henry Holt and Co.

Beaglehole, E.
1944 Character Structure, its Role in the Analysis of Interpersonal Relations. *Psychiatry*, *7*, 145-162.

Bidney, D.
1953 *Theoretical Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gillin, J.
1948 *The Ways of Men*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Honigmann, J. J.
1954 *Culture and Personality*. New York: Harper.

Hsu, F. L. K. (ed.)
1954 *Aspects of Culture and Personality: A Symposium*. New York: Abelard-Schuman.

Inkeles, A. and D. J. Levinson
1954 National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems. In G. Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Kardiner, A.
1939 *The Individual and His Society*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Keesing, F. M.
1958 *Cultural Anthropology, the Science of Custom*. New York: Rinehart.

Kluckhohn, C. and O. H. Mowrer
1944 Culture and Personality, a Conceptual Scheme. *American Anthropologist*, *46*, 1-29.

Kluckhohn, C. and H. A. Murray (eds.)
1953 *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*. New York: Knopf. Rev. ed.

Kroeber, A. L.
1917 The Superorganic. *American Anthropologist*, *19*, 163-213.

Kroeber, A. L.
1948a Anthropology. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

1948b White's View of Culture. American Anthropologist, 50, 413-414.

Kroeber, A. L. and C. Kluckhohn
1952 Culture. Pap. Peabody Mus., Vol. 47, No. 1.

Lindesmith, A. and A. Strauss
1950 A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings. American Sociol. Rev., 15, 587-600.

Linton, R.
1936 The Study of Man. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

1945 The Cultural Background of Personality. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Linton, R. (ed.)
1945 The Science of Man in the World Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mead, M.
1951 The Study of National Character. In D. Lerner and H. D. Lasswell (eds.), The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.

1953 National Character. In A. L. Kroeber (ed.), Anthropology Today. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sapir, E.
1934 The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Culture. J. Soc. Psychol., 5, 408-415.

1948 Selected Writings in Language, Culture, and Personality. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sherif, M.
1959 Social Psychology, Anthropology and the "Behavioral Sciences." Southw. Soc. Sci. Quart., 110-112.

Spiro, M. E.
1951 Culture and Personality: The Natural History of a False Dichotomy. Psychiatry, Vol. 14, pp. 19-46.